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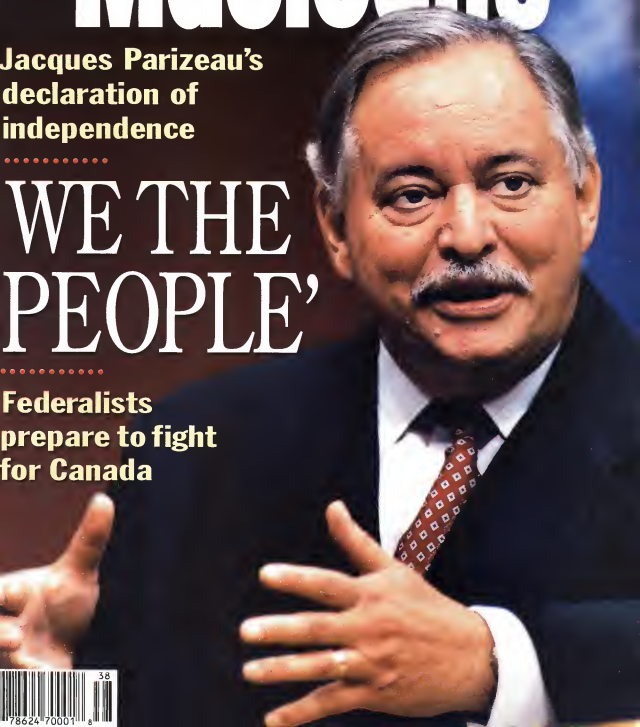
**Jacques Parizeau's
declaration of
independence**

.....

WE THE PEOPLE'

.....

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ANOTHER VIEW



Why the media fail in high-tech coverage

BY CHARLES GORDON

A predictable newspaper feature during the early days of the computer era was the "My trusty old Underwood" column. In it, a well-to-do, elderly person would explain how none of this newfangled computer stuff was going to make him or her give up the beloved old typewriter. But had I needed out to many big names over the years.

Another journalistic trademark of the period was the "Outrigger, I hope I don't blow up the building" column, in which the writer, encountering the computer for the first time, related the horrors of seeing the screen fill with word and undecipherable messages at the touch of wrong keys.

This was followed, shortly thereafter, by the "My life has changed" column, the writer's glorification of the computer (and by inference, the writer using it).

Most of us have written one or the other. But few of us were then any wiser, and few of us have succeeded to glorifying our obsolete computers, as in the "My trusty old Kaypro 2C" column. As an old reader has scribbled in upon us: Most of us realize the computer is a tool, like a car or a hammer or a pen, and none of us use it better than others. Many fiction writers and poets still use typewriters or longhand, but only creation is what is sold.

Newspaper critics predicted revolutionary changes when computers began invading newspaper and other offices, but few of the people writing and editing these stories truly understood them. In fact, they were in touch with the rest of society. Technology always leaps ahead of society's capacity to understand the implications of it.

In the end—or at least, the end as it dates—we found that the computer made good writing easier for some, but had writing easier for others. So, one of the legends of the computer revolution is more bad writing. We also have something else that wasn't predicted at the time: much more paper around us.

With Windows 95, the sheer dimension of the hype became a story in itself. But no one dared ask the obvious question: what does it matter?

thanks to faxes, high-speed printers and photo-copiers. It is worth remembering that one of the effects of the computer revolution was to have been the virtual elimination of paper.

All of this has to be kept in mind while reading those breathless features about Windows 95 and the Internet and other of the latest marvels. Internet access has been with us for a year or so now. Not everyone in the media has much understanding of what it means, but there is a strong feeling that it means something. Since the media have to think of themselves as behind the times, newspaper pages and television hours are full of the Internet. The more word is enough to guarantee space. Writing sections can be sent on the Internet, one story will reveal. While water riding on the Internet isn't yet possible, another will report.

Had the media been as widespread and all-consuming in the late 19th century, we can imagine similar coverage on the operation of the telephone. You can talk to the blackboard on it, one story might have claimed, you can put it on the kitchen table, another might have reported, you can't do while-water riding on it yet, but Mr. Bell is working on it.

Since there is an incomplete understand-

ing of the phenomenon, mistakes are made, most notable among them: The magazine's shocking and incorrect expose of pornography on the Net. The whole thing might be a passing fancy—for all we know, the Internet version of it is still.

And, of course, there will be Windows 96. Coverage of the Windows 95 phenomenon is quite startling, since what we are talking about is an operating system—not a computer, not a program—and the implications of it won't be understood for years. But what seems to have happened here is that the sheer dimension of the hype has become a story in itself. Thus, it is, however dimly perceived, a story about technology and technology is important, whatever it is—or at least it might be, so we'll better not make the mistake of writing until we know something about it before we cover it.

In the case at hand, there is the added space of a link between Windows 95 and the Internet, the two concepts everybody thinks are important even if they are not sure exactly how. How will Windows 95 affect the Internet, since it's not a net? Or vice versa? And no one dares ask the obvious question: What does it matter?

It is puzzling why that doesn't happen, why questions like that are not asked more often. The media are normally good at pointing out when the experts have no clothes, even when the experts are in the cat's. But the media always ask, particularly to government officials, how much does this thing cost anyway? For this, reporters and editors are accused of cynicism. Sometimes it is even deserved.

But where is the cynicism when it comes to technology? Why can't you find a cynic when you really need one? So far, the only discouraging words heard have been from those who worry that Windows 95 will somehow adversely affect their access to the Internet. But how much does this thing cost, anyone? How many jobs, how many hospitals, how many classrooms, how many irrigation ditches, how many units of vaccines, how many units of guns?

With each advance we can do more, and we can do it faster. But more of what? And is faster better?

Whenever in recent history has media reporting been as obsessed with the statistics and concerns of readers and viewers. It is because we in the media are so afraid of missing the technological boat that we don't bother asking when the boat is going.

Meanwhile, the readers and viewers are thinking about their kids, and their safety, their jobs, their health and their schools. They may even be thinking about hungry people at home and abroad. Opening their morning newspaper, they see on the front page that somebody is operating Windows 95, a writing computer will be coming from the CP Tower. Looking through all the windows, they attempt to find out about the superer it says that day, but there is no news of it. Maybe there is something on the Internet.

'WE THE PEOPLE'

THE QUESTION

"DO YOU AGREE THAT QUEBEC SHOULD BECOME SOVEREIGN, AFTER HAVING MADE A FORMAL OFFER TO CANADA FOR A NEW ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP, WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE BILL RESPECTING THE FUTURE OF QUEBEC AND OF THE AGREEMENT SIGNED ON JUNE 12, 1995?"

Jacques Parizeau unveils Quebec's referendum question



Parizeau at reading of the sovereignty declaration: "giving yourself a country"

Finally the question. It is not long, only 41 words in French, 43 in English. Nor is it as clear as Jacques Parizeau always presented it would be. It is, in fact, clouded in ambiguity, carefully crafted to obscure the full magnitude of the decision that awaits Quebec's 6.9 million voters. For the future of Canada rests on how those voters respond when they go to the polls—almost certainly on Monday, Oct. 30—in cast ballots either for or against the proposition that the Quebec premier unveiled last week, along with his reformist bill and an emotional "We the people" declaration of sovereignty. "We, You and you are already giving yourself a country," Parizeau announced as he uttered the long-awaited wording of the referendum question in the province's national assembly. "People understood very well," he added later, standing before a blue and white forest of folded Quebec flags outside the assembly chamber. "A sovereign Quebec is a country. And I've chosen a sovereign Quebec as our country, that means we are not choosing Canada as our country."

If the Quebec premier's declarations were unambiguous, the wording of the referendum question he unveiled was decidedly not. In neither the English nor the French version is there any mention of the word "country," much less the possibility of the outright secession of Quebec from the rest of Canada. On the contrary, Parizeau's question stresses no point in independence to select, more vaguely thrusts, out as the abrupt end of the country as it has existed since Confederation in 1867, but rather as the promising beginning of an entirely new relationship between Quebec and Canada. It manages to accomplish that feat by coupling a vote on Quebec sovereignty to "formal" offers of an economic and political partnership—partnership with the transitional and desired Canada that would remain after Quebec had departed.

For many Canadians both inside and outside Quebec, that prospect is at best highly improbable, particularly in view of the shape of the partnership that is being offered. "It's an illusion," snapped Quebec Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson, echoing a statement expressed by individual voters across the country. Parizeau's question, argued Johnson, amounted to "the blindest attempt to 'trick' voters into believing that they are not being asked to endorse the 'irrevocable separation of Quebec from Canada.'" Several pressures, including New Brunswick's Prime McKenna and Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow, warned that Quebecers cannot expect a special deal with Canada if they vote Yes.

Ontario's Mike Harris echoed that view, but he ran into some

trouble when he added that Ontario would continue to do business with a separate Quebec. A Quebec radio reporter interpreted that as meaning Ontario would continue a business-as-usual relationship with Quebec after independence—perhaps like Quebec's Leader Lucien Bouchard is sure to say that Harris's remark meant that a Yes vote would not threaten Quebec's ties with English Canada and that the Ontario premier might well vote Yes himself if he was a Quebecer. Harris's words immediately flamed that as "propaganda," but the episode illustrated how easily the sovereignty issue can be twisted.

Despite the countrywide objections to the Parti Québécois's claims that a new relationship will be easily forged with English Canada, there is a compelling logic to Parizeau's strategy for the referendum campaign—when a new poll last week suggested will be a closely fought battle. The Quebec premier is acutely aware that a "Yes" question on sovereignty, no matter how cleverly it is phrased, stands little chance of being accepted by even a slim majority of the province's voters. As a result, he has abandoned, albeit reluctantly, his own long-standing opposition to anything but a fair deal from Quebec independence, divorced from any considerations about the new country's relationship with the rest of Canada. He admitted as much himself last week in the national assembly when Liberal Leader Johnson attacked him for changing the stance that in 1994 led him to quit the Parti Québécois government in protest against the party's throw-out bid on independence. "Yes, I have evolved," Parizeau acknowledged. "I have evolved because I chose to listen to the people of Quebec."

The first indication of what the people of Quebec were thinking immediately after the referendum—Parizeau's question already divided electronic. A survey conducted last Thursday and Friday by the polling group Léger & Léger for *Le Journal de Montréal* and *The Globe and Mail* found 50 per cent support for the Yes side, based on the actual wording of the official referendum question, compared with 49.6 per cent for the No side. Those figures came after analysts disclosed the 13.3 per cent of voters who were undecided or did not respond on the basis of past voting tendencies. Before that, 43.8 per cent said they would vote Yes, with 49.3 per cent saying No. Pollsters questioned 559 potential voters, giving the survey a margin of error of plus or minus 2.2 percentage points. That means the poll showed a virtual dead heat in the sovereignty race—despite three days of massive publicity by the Yes forces. That, in turn, cheered financial markets: a rumor about the poll's findings on Friday boosted the Canadian



Parizeau part of the media depicting the question and campaign draft law



▲ **Johnson in Quebec City:** "The fog earlier is at work here. Keep your fingers crossed."

dollar by almost a third of a cent, closing at 74.77 cents (U.S.).

The swirling of the referendum question reflected the influence of the PQ's own pollsters on Parizeau, as well as that of his two allies in the media that is now Quebec's separate movement—Jacques Boivin and Marie Desautels. The leader and chief writing member of the Parti Québécois, a cantankerous spinster group founded in 1994 as a split-off from the provincial Liberal party. Boivin's and Desautels' fingerprints are all over the referendum question that Parizeau unveiled last week, just as they are on the accompanying draft law—Bill 1—(that the premier unveiled at the same time in the assembly, which sketches the outlines of the projected independent Quebec. It was Desautels who presided upon Parizeau to change the name of the bill, ensuring the word "sovereignty" from its title in favor of the more neutral "Bill 1" of Quebec. On June 13, 1995, agreement mentioned in the referendum question refers to the pact that Parizeau, Boivin and Desautels agreed with much before not that day in the wake of the new electoral map, or sharp turn, as a secretariat reform that occurred last spring when spinster polls showed that the movement was heading towards almost certain defeat.

The joint agreement, a copy of which is under an operation to Bill 1, contains the details of the "formal offer" on the new political and economic partnership that Parizeau's government promises to extend to the rest of Canada in the event that the Yes side triumphs in the referendum. It envisages a treaty between Canada and Quebec, under which the two parties would agree to maintain existing trade links while creating an entirely new superstructure to govern their relationship. A council of cabinet ministers, composed of equal members

from Canada and Quebec, with each side having two power, will supervise in this proposed arrangement. There would also be a biweekly governing joint parliament, with seats distributed according to people that a trade tribunal to settle disputes between the two new countries; and, finally, a head new secretary of civil servants to administer the relationship.

With a that previously proposed law first presented last June, it just with levels of decision from everywhere but within the ranks of the separatist movement. Unsurprisingly, Parizeau played ahead, incorporating it in both the referendum question and the draft law despite the slim odds of it ever being accepted as a basis for negotiations with the rest of Canada over the possible destination of the country. There is no great mystery about the reasons why. As recent surveys in recent weeks have discovered, Quebec's voters are more susceptible to the lure of sovereignty when it is coupled with offers of a new relationship with the rest of the country. The PQ government's target is the 30 to 20 per cent of the electorate

that the Progressives like to call "hesitantists" and the politicians refer to as soft nationalists. They are overwhelmingly francophones who harbor a yearning for Quebec sovereignty—but only if it is portrayed as an opportunity to restore Canada rather than break it up.

Despite Parizeau's gesture to the soft nationalists, the pretexts he launched last week remain essentially unconvincing. The draft law, Bill 1, makes that much crystal clear. While it recognizes the national assembly to proclaim sovereignty only after the formal offer of a treaty and the creation of a committee to conduct the negotiations, it also includes a deadline. If talks with Canada are not successfully concluded by Oct. 30, 1996, the assembly would be authorized to unilaterally declare sovereignty unless it decided to



extend the date. "The bill fixes the length of the partnership treaty negotiations with Canada and determines how and when the national assembly may make the proclamation allowing Quebec to acquire the exclusive power to pass all its laws, regulate its taxes and conduct all its treaties—in other words to join the community of

nationalities in a sovereign country," Parizeau told the legislators.

The premier also indicated that his government has no plans to adopt Bill 1, or even to have it debated in the national assembly. The draft law is merely intended as a guide to the government's intentions. What will be discussed in the assembly during this week is the referendum question, which Parizeau was scheduled to table officially. Once that occurs, the referendum clock starts ticking. Under Quebec's referendum law, the assembly can debate the question for a maximum of 35 hours, a promise that is likely to take about a week. No sooner than 15 days after the question is tabled, the new government has the power to unilaterally open the official referendum campaign. The campaign itself can last no more than 30 days, after which the vote must take place.

Parizeau has still not officially announced a date for the referendum holding, but he said last week that the probability has "increased considerably" that it will be Oct. 30. In the meantime, Quebec's voters, not to mention the anxious outsiders in the rest of the country, can look forward to a considerable increase in the deficit level emanating from the province. There was a glimpse of what is coming last week when the Progressives staged their elaborate show on the steps of Quebec City's Grand Theatre, an emotional reading of the preamble Bill 1, a parade of political and religious leaders, and a not much more than a long haul of berryl by English-speaking Canada. "We, the people of Quebec," it concludes, "through our national assembly, proclaim that Quebec is a sovereign country." More than 1,000 PQ faithful and sympathetic nationalists gathered for the event, leaving a small knot of about 100 federalist demonstrators waving Canadian flags outside the theatre. Once made, they heard portions of Quebec's national anthem, and played the national anthem. They mostly declared the preamble to Bill 1. Parizeau told tears in his eyes as he listened. Even the Progressives admit that last week's theatrics were designed to comfort those who are already committed rather than convince the wavering. The real debate begins this week when Parizeau tables the referendum question in the assembly. But the act of the strategy that both sides will employ to win the critical "hearer" votes is already clear. Parizeau and his supporters can be expected to lead every effort to keep discussion focused on

LOOKING BEHIND THE QUEBEC QUESTION

What's behind the swirling of the Quebec referendum question? Maclean's correspondents Ian Mackinnon, Paul Kistler and John Johnson asked analysts and experts about the country.

Beliveau, Des, professor of political science at the Université de Montréal.

It's a question aimed to win and not to lose. It's exactly the reverse of the preamble [to the sovereignty bill]. In the preamble, they celebrate an independent country—the word independence is there—and as a three-page text, you have only three lines that talk about the possibility of a new deal with Canada. With that question, which is clearly what the Yes side will focus on, you have a very rapid reference to Quebec becoming sovereign and then it's about the new partnership with Canada. That's because the new government expects that the majority of the Parti Québécois—most to hear about the country. But in order to win the referendum, they must convince other Quebecers, and polls show that two out of three think economic association with Canada is essential.

not just desirable if Quebec is to be an independent country. Many people will say we don't want to cut our economic links and symbolic attachment with Canada.

New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenney.

It is a case of trickery. It is an ambiguous question that talks about sovereignty rather than separation. It offers the implication that arrangements can be negotiated with the rest of Canada that will allow a new Quebec to be a part of both worlds. That is not especially untrue. Jacques Parizeau is misleading Quebecers. The draft law should have been to Quebecers.

Do you want to separate or not? They think they are not in fact separating. It is a case of trickery.



▲ **McKenney:** "a case of trickery"

Patrick Monahan, associate professor of constitutional law at York University in Toronto.

The question says that Quebec shall declare itself sovereign after making an offer of association within the context of that bill. It refers to continued use of the Canadian dollar, membership in NATO, and continuing current borders. They seem to be saying, "All we're asking for is a mandate to be issued." What would happen if those conditions were not fulfilled? Presumably, the mandate would no longer apply. There seems to be confusion about whether or not sovereignty is linked with continuing some kind of economic association. That is unfortunate because the ambiguity means that voters in Quebec don't know what they're voting for.

Philip Monahan, a University of British Columbia political scientist who has written three books on Quebec and Canada.

I don't share the fear and panic in the rest of Canada that this is a tricky question. The word sovereignty is a term there, very clearly. There was some warning



▲ **Gajdos:** "It's a much better question"

down to keep Bouchard on side, but sovereignty is at the very heart of it. This whole thing: Unlike 1980, there is no pledge to have a second referendum if the partnership or the proposals fail. This is it. After

one year of negotiations with Canada, all is required is that Parizeau say, "Well, thank you. We give it our best." At that point, he is saying Quebec is a sovereign state. So if you suspect that's a little bit, it will ultimately become a referendum on sovereignty. If you're a Quebecer and you have faith that a partnership with Canada won't work, and you are not a separatist, then you're probably right. No, it would be very surprising if this passed.

Kasia Gajdos, director of Quebec Studies at McGill University in Montreal.

It's a much better question than the one proposed in 1980. It's a very short question, 45 words, compared with more than 100 in 1980. It doesn't leave too many doubts. What is revealing is the obligation to formally offer Canada a new economic and political partnership. This is a very comforting statement that is being made. It is not like we are going to slam the door. It is not like we are going to say, "We want to be a people, but, at the same time, we want to strike a positive arrangement with our neighbors to the east and to the west." People are going to be asking us whether you want to stay or not in Canada. Do you

want to be Canadian? Do you want to form only one nation within Canada? The answer of this question is very, very clear. It's to establish a new government leading a people towards a nation-state status.

Josée Legault, political scientist at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

I was surprised by how fast they questioned it. I would have liked to see the rest of the country to it. I would have liked to ask the people, do they want to become a sovereign country? That it doesn't really matter, because people will understand exactly what it is they're voting on. In 1980, in 1985, the issue came in, do you want Quebec to become a sovereign country? What has become more obvious since 1980 is that once you have made that decision, when you think there will be a Berlin Wall built around the province of Quebec—which will then be the country of Quebec—different laws and different terms of association will emerge, including, of course, the North American Free Trade Agreement. Quebec will remain where it is, so it will have to get into all these different kinds of economic association. No country can survive without that.

the *perimeter* that would be offered to Canada after a *Yes* vote. "Quebec will become a sovereign state, a country of its own," *Action démocratique* leader Dumont said last week. "But it will also become the partner of new economic and political agreements with the rest of Canada, like Europe. Each will be masters of their own house, but in a real partnership."

Just as vigorously the federalist forces will to attempt to reclaim Quebecers constantly that they face a decision that could mean the end of a long and enduring relationship with Canada that has existed since 1763. Confederation, with no guarantees about the future. "The top-order is at work here," Liberal Leader Johnson complained in what is sure to be a principal theme of the federalist attack. "The substance of what is at stake is that Quebec becomes a sovereign country, and then there is an off-ferm—who knows what happens next? *Keep your fingers crossed!*"

In an effort to underline the dangers, Johnson served notice that the Liberals will attempt to amend the wording of the referendum question when it comes up for debate. They want the government to change the wording of the question that now reads: "Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign?" to "Do you agree that Quebec should become a sovereign country?" It may only be a question of semantics, but to many voters the meaning is quite different.

The separatists are well-prepared to counter the attack. Bill 1, the code to the government's intentions, is explicit with promises for all sectors of Quebec society. It offers Quebec citizenship to all residents of the province, stipulating that it can be held concurrently with Canadian citizenship or that of any other country. It claims that Quebec will keep the Canadian dollar as its currency and "insure the continuity" of existing Canadian social-security programs, child support payments, old age and veterans' pensions. Quebec's local borders will remain the same, it says, while the sea borders will be expanded to include coastal waters. The new Quebec will apply for membership in the North American Free Trade Agreement, the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, the Commonwealth and La Francophonie. All federal and provincial jobs in Quebec would be protected, jobs with the Quebec government. The English-speaking community's identity and contributions will be preserved. And both anglophones and native people are promised a place in a new constitutional assembly that will be created to draft a constitution for the newly independent Quebec.

There are, in fact, as many defects in the Parson's government's draft bill that it provoked Johnson to wonder, tongue in cheek, what the whole complicated process is all about if the only objective is "to make what we already have, something called Canada." Quebec voters will have to ponder that question—among other things—as they prepare to cast their ballots in just a few weeks' time. □

QUEBEC'S DON QUIXOTE

He has been called everything from an "intellect as allegory" to "Jana of Arc in a suit and tie." But of all the epithets that have been pinned on Guy Bertrand, probably the most apt is "a Quebec version of Don Quixote." For like Cervantes' fictional Spanish knight, the champion of lost causes, the Quebec City lawyer and political maverick has been riding a windmill. Despite the long odds and with almost no support from the official forces of his province, he went to court in search of an injunction

that might have cast doubts on the legality of the referendum. "We needed a clean slate before we could do it," confided one of Bertrand's aides. "We could not embark on a campaign lasting four months while there were still questions about whether or not the entire process was legal."

In Bertrand's view, it is not. He asked Quebec Superior Court Justice Robert Levesque to grant an injunction halting the referendum on the grounds that it violates the Canadian Constitution by giving Quebec's legislature the power to

secede unilaterally from Canada. That, Bertrand claimed, breaches to deprive him of his constitutional rights as a Canadian citizen. After listening to Bertrand's arguments, Levesque denied his request for an injunction. The judge agreed that the referendum process is illegal and threatened Bertrand's rights, but he ruled that the desire of Quebecers to decide their political future must also be taken into account. "It must be understood that people want to express themselves," Levesque wrote. "Issuing an injunction against a referendum could create a more serious wrong than the one we're trying to prevent."

Bertrand's challenge once again demonstrated his penchant for unpredictability. Until last year, the 38-year-old Quebec City lawyer was a dedicated separatist, a familiar figure at *Piquettes* gatherings in his stylish clothes, personal station and dyed-black hair. He helped to found the Parti Québécois in 1988 and in 1995 he ran for the party's leadership on a hardline ticket, demanding that Quebec

■ Bertrand calling the referendum "unlawful"

unilaterally declare independence. That call prompted the late René Lévesque to pin the *unthinkable* label on him. But last January, Bertrand experienced a change of heart. Virtually overnight, he became an outspoken federalist, arguing that the separatist fixation on independence was destroying not only Quebec, but Canada as well. That drew condemnation from many of his old colleagues. "It's been very difficult for me to say the things I have been saying," he told *Macleans* at the time. "Because I am confronting some of my old and dearest friends." It may be difficult to resist the tag of those old allies here, but in Bertrand's case, it is clearly not impossible.

to block what he claims is Quebec Premier Jacques Parson's "illegal and unlawful" sovereignty referendum. And although a judge last week turned down his request, Bertrand did win a partial victory and managed to force the separatists to change their plans. Even the *Piquettes* admitted, if only grudgingly that it was Bertrand's legal maneuvering that forced the premier to make an *ad hoc* decision to change his plans last week, advancing the originally scheduled date for the recall of the National Assembly and the elaborate sound-and-light show that accompanied the unveiling of the separatist Declaration of Sovereignty. Among other things, Bertrand's decision to postpone the assembly two days earlier than anticipated was meant to prevent any court ruling

TASTE THE FEELING.

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Federalists enter Quebec's referendum campaign with a mix of fear and optimism

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

On a day when Premier Jacques Parizeau and more than 1,800 of his closest government friends were meeting for an occasion they deemed "historic," the main thrust of those considering Quebec's constitutional debt incarnate was less than 35 km away, doing his best to ignore them. As members of the Yes side avoided their proposed premiere in Quebec City last week for the convention of an independent Quebec, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien was at the nearby Valcartier military base, greeting 100 returning members of the Canadian Forces who had been on UN peacekeeping duty in the former Yugoslavia. In his public remarks, he ignored the meeting. The next day, when Parizeau and Co. published for another well-described "historic" occasion—the unveiling of the referendum question itself—Chrétien, said as aside, did not even watch on television.

And so Quebec's referendum campaign begins with an elongated bang on the Yes side, and may a whisper in public from the most prominent member of the federalist forces. Instead, Labor Minister

THE STRUGGLE BEGINS

Lucienne Robillard, the federal government's designated number two for the referendum, was the first to respond after Parizeau added the issue of the march. Predictably, she was critical, calling it "long and ambiguous" and difficult to understand.

The relatively low-key response was a likely portrait of the no-fuss, no-nonsense campaign that the No forces intend to run—as long as polls continue to show them in the lead. During the campaign, Chrétien will spend little time in Quebec, and make only a few speeches that will contain even fewer promises when it comes to the ever-elusive topic of constitutional reform. "We already have a constitutional proposal," says an adviser to the Prime Minister in a familiar refrain. "It's called the notion of Canada."

That is one of a series of comforting phrases that the Prime Minister and other members of his government will chant the minutes throughout the campaign. Others include variations on the theme that "the burden of proof is on the Yes side," and an assertion that "regardless of what the question says, the real issue is whether Quebecers want to leave Canada." Those phrases were echoed by

other federal politicians immediately after the question was unveiled. Reform's Stephen Harper, one of the party's spokesmen on Quebec and constitutional questions, said the referendum will be about "separation, not unification." And Progressive Conservative Leader Jean Charest, expected to play a key role in the campaign, and the question amounts to "asking 'for a blank check'."

Those messages, already frequently heard, will resound even more often during a tightly scripted campaign that will allow federalist spokesmen little room for improvisation. Instead, like a hockey team with a two-goal lead in the third period, they are playing cautiously and deliberately, concentrating on avoiding mistakes.

That caution reflects from a mix of fear and optimism. Based on public and private polls and their own analysis, some No organizers believe they could win the vote with a margin even greater than the 50-percent to 40-percent result of Quebec's 1980 referendum. But, they acknowledge, a major pull by the No side, or strong evidence of anti-Quebec feeling in the rest of the country, could cause

Chrétien welcoming peacekeepers home from Greater Igloing the separatists' 'historic' event

that edge almost overnight. Already, Chrétien and his advisers have suggested informally several tactics to English-speaking premiers that they either stay silent on the Quebec issue, or consult with Ottawa before making statements. Similarly, the only members of Chrétien's cabinet likely to participate will be those who are directly involved with the possible exception of Transport Minister Doug Young and Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps, both of whom are fiercely bilingual.

As well, Chrétien is wary of appearing to devote too much time to Quebec at the expense of other national issues. Finally as a result, during the course of the campaign, he will also make a number of speeches outside Quebec.

That is one of a series of steps that will make the Quebec referendum campaign different from its predecessor in 1980. Then, the rest of the country appeared generally alienated by the prospect of Quebec sovereignty. This time, a Chrétien adviser says carefully, the mood is "much more lively." And 15 years ago, the federal cabinet boasted a number of political apostates from the province, including prime minister Pierre Trudeau, Marc Lalonde, Francis Fox and Chrétien himself. Now, Chrétien's own popularity in Quebec is sharply diminished, and the role of the federal cabinet has been lessened to the point where only one minister, Robillard—a relative unknown outside Quebec—has directly involved in strategy meetings between the federal and provincial Liberals.

Another difference is that federal officials insist that no extra money will be lavished on Quebec during the campaign as a means of enticing votes to the federalist side. "The mood today," says a Chrétien adviser, "is that there are more gains to be made by cutting spending than by spending more." Still, that intention may be honored more in the breach than the fact. The federal government has launched a noisy, \$5-million television ad campaign extolling the country's virtues, and Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy's office moved with unprecedented alacrity last week to respectfully acknowledge financial support for the separatist Quebec wage earners.

Federal officials say they want the No side to play its cards in votes through a pulsation mix of hope and caution—echoing the sentiments of the rest of the country while questioning the uncertainty of its independent Quebec. Although the federal Liberals insist that they have no political agenda, they acknowledge that they have made heavy use of focus groups to test the effectiveness of various ads on Quebecers. One of the findings, a federal official said, is that "Quebecers respond negatively well to ads emphasizing such as emphasis on the highest aspirations of Canada." That is one of

the reasons behind the heavy-handed TV ad campaign, which evokes memories of a similar one that began running on the eve of the 1980 referendum. The previous campaign, unlike everything from Canada's anti-separatist customs efforts to the Coast Guard's search-and-rescue service and Ottawa's role in ensuring the safety of preservation drops.

The other key element of the federalist strategy lies in the No side's success in raising questions about the economic and employment situation in Quebec, while trying to avoid charges of knee-jumping. "Addressing those doubts is an essential part of the objective," said a Chrétien adviser. "But also one of the most likely to be believed." Last month, Finance Minister Paul Martin, perhaps the party's most credible figure in Quebec, spent six days touring the province, as Martin put it, he was "on-the-ground speaking" and instead is describing a vision of Quebec. He includes the obstacles that an independent Quebec would face in using the Canadian dollar and the potential problems it would encounter in trying to join the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Despite their low-key public approach, organizers of the No forces have been planning for the referendum since June, with meetings between key federal and provincial Liberal representatives held every Monday in Ottawa and Friday in Montreal. Along with Robillard, more than a dozen people from the two levels take part. Other key federal figures include Chrétien's chief of staff, former Quebec City mayor Jean Pelletier, and Donald Boldura, the deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs.

By accident or design, some of Chrétien's other closest constitutional advisers are anglophones with roots in Montreal, including his special adviser, Rickie Goldstein; Howard Ballach, who runs the federal Unity Office, prominent Montreal lawyer Eric Muldoon, and John Lee, a senior vice-president of Power Corp. and a longtime Chrétien adviser. In addition to those regular meetings, Chrétien's staff also spends a near-daily basis with two, close advisers to provincial Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson, Jean Paré and Pierre Arcin. Both men are intimates of Johnson, and Paré has worked in chief of staff for both Johnson and former premier Robert Bourassa.

Bourassa himself will also play a role in the campaign, despite some nervousness as the part of federal officials. Next week, he is to give a speech in Winnipeg discussing new energy, and also plans to make several speeches in Quebec. Although Bourassa may help to give some moderate nationalists to the No side, federal officials fear he may also renew pressure to reopen constitutional talks. Other former federal and provincial leaders will be less busy. Former Parti Québécois premier Pierre Marc Johnson stirred some Yes supporters recently when he said he will not publicly declare how he plans to vote. Johnson has told friends that he is concerned the No side will win, and that he feels he can play a role in the aftermath. Similarly, Trudeau has said, through his friend Lalonde, that he does not plan to make any public comments. His reasoning, he told mostly federal recently, is that Chrétien "is doing things bravely," and he is convinced that the No side will win.

Despite—or perhaps because of—the level of confidence on the No side, these plans could unravel quickly if the Yes side moves ahead in early polls. For one thing, that would lead some provincial Liberals to push their federal counterparts for a commitment to constitutional reform. That, in turn, might lead Trudeau to call his allies and stir the debate to defend the status quo—a move that might have some results. And Chrétien would face pressure to play a more active personal role in the campaign—which might also have mixed results given his shaky popularity in his home province. "There are," said a Chrétien adviser, "only about a million remaining things that might go wrong." For the would-be champions of Canada, the real game begins beginning. □

Robillard: critical, denouncing a 'hard and ambiguous' question

Premier Jacques Parizeau lifted off his campaign for Quebec independence last week by announcing the possibility to hold a 1994 government's proposed law to take the province out of Canada. Excerpt.

The time has come to reap the fruits of history. The time has come at last to harvest what has been sown for us by 400 years of men and women and courage, rooted in the soil and now returned to it.

The time has come for us, tomorrow's ancestors, to make ready for our descendants. It is time that we are worthy of the labor of the past. May our toil be worthy of them, say they gather us together at last.

At the dawn of the 17th century, the pioneers of what would become a nation and then a people rooted themselves in the soil of Quebec. Having come from a great civilization, they were enriched by that of the First Nations. They forged new alliances



Bill Parizeau applauds writer
Marie Laberge of yesterday's dawn

'THE TIME HAS COME'

and maintained the heritage of France.

The conquest of 1760 did not break the determination of their descendants to remain faithful to a destiny unique in North America. Already in 1774, through the Quebec Act, the conquerors recognized the distinct nature of their institutions. Neither attempts at assimilation nor the Act of Union of 1840 could break their identity.

The English community that grew up at their side, the immigrants who have joined them, all have contributed to strengthen this people, which has come in 1867 one of the two founders of the Canadian Federation.

WE, THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THIS PLACE,

Because we inhabit the territories defined by our ancestors, from Abitibi to Beauce-la-Madeleine, from Saguenay to the American border, because for 400 years we have shared, joined, parted, survived, died, failed, built, started anew, discussed, protected and loved this land that is not across and watered by the St. Lawrence River;

Because the least of this land belongs to French and because that heartbeat is as meaningful as the seasons that build every year over it, as the winds that bend it, as the men and women who shape it;

Because we have created here a way of being, of believing, of working that is unique;

Because as long ago as 1764, we established here one of the first parliamentary democracies in the world, one we have never ceased to improve;

Because the legacy of the struggles and courage of the past compels us irremediably to take charge of our destiny;

Because it is this land alone that represents our pride and the source of our strength, our sole opportunity to express ourselves in the category of our individual citizens and of our collective heart;

Because this land will be all those men and women who inhabit it, who defend it and define it, and because we are all these people;

We the people of Quebec declare that we are free to choose our future.

We know the winter in our souls. We know its bloody days, its solitude, its false eternity and its apparent deaths. We know

The PQ appeals
to Quebecers
with history
and emotion



what it is to be taken by the winter cold.

We entered the federation on the path of a promise of equality in a shared undertaking and of respect for our authority in certain matters that are ours alone.

But what was to follow did not live up to those early hopes. The Canadian State compromised the federative pact by swindling in a thousand ways areas in which we were autonomous, and by serving notice that our secular belief in the quality of the partners was an illusion.

We were disappointed in 1962 when the governments of Canada and the English-speaking provinces made changes to the Constitution, in depth and to our detriment, in defiance of the categorical opposition of our National Assembly.

Twice since then attempts were made to right that wrong. The failure of the Meech Lake accord in 1990 confirmed a refusal to recognize even our distinct character. And in 1992, the rejection of the Charlottetown accord by both Canadians and Quebecers confirmed the conclusion that no reform was possible.

Because we have persisted despite the lagging of which we have been the object;

Because Canada, far from taking pride in and proclaiming to the world the alliance between its two founding peoples, has acted out of cowardly indifference and decreed the spurious principle of equality between the provinces;

Because starting with the Quiet Revolution, we reached a decision never again to restrict ourselves to mere survival, but from this time on to build upon our difference;

Because we have the desperate conviction that continuing within Canada would be tantamount to confirming ourselves to lagging and to deluding our very identity;

Because the respect we owe ourselves must guide our deeds;

We, the people of Quebec, declare it is our will to be in full possession of all the powers of a State; to lay all our taxes, to vote on all our laws, to sign all our treaties and to exercise the highest power of all, conceiving and controlling, by ourselves, our fundamental law...

We, the people of Quebec, through our National Assembly, proclaim Quebec is a sovereign country.

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Deadly confrontation on an Ontario reserve

Canadiana Bessette came looking for an answer last week, her cousin, Stoneyhead Anthony (Dorothy) George, died in a confrontation with Ontario Provincial Police near an Indian reserve on the westward shores of Lake Huron in south-western Ontario. In what has been a hot moment of discontent among native people across Canada over issues ranging from fish rights to land claims, George and about 30 other natives had occupied Ipperwash Provincial Park on the edge of the reserve. What happened there was sharply disputed. Native leaders, claiming that their members were unarmed, said that police had assaulted one man and then opened fire on the group, killing George and wounding two others. But police maintained that natives brandished officers with rocks and fired on them from inside a school bus and a car, putting one police officer, George, was killed, they said, when police returned fire. But in Bessette stood in the bowing wood near the site of the killing, she clearly did not believe the police. "I think they were unarmed," said Bessette. "So why did the police shoot them?"

George, a member of the Kettle and Stoney Point band of the Chippewas nation, said believing that Ipperwash park, 170 acres of pine-covered bush on Lake Huron, is located on the site of a sacred Indian burial ground. Although the province says there is no basis for this claim, about two dozen natives from the reserve entered the park on Monday and found a small group of campers and park rangers to leave. The OPP responded by sending in two heavily armed tactical squads. That set the stage for a bloody confrontation on Wednesday evening. After George was killed and the two other natives were wounded, the police retreated. And officers, many of them dressed in green battle gear and carrying assault rifles, blocked all roads leading into the area. When Odele Mercredi, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, arrived the following afternoon, he found both sides dead.

As he had quickly learned while attempting to mediate at the four-week-old standoff between militant natives and police officers at Gustafus Lake in the interior of British Columbia, there was little room—or even will—to negotiate. And as he did at Gustafus Lake, Mercredi criticized provincial politicians for failing to take native concerns seriously. "It was not necessary the spouse to be here," said Mercredi. "[Ontario Premier] Mike Harris has the power to resolve this peacefully."

But there was little sign that peace was about to break out at either Ipperwash or Gustafus Lake last week. In British Columbia, more than two dozen armed natives and non-native supporters remained in the town standoff with the RCMP. Two police officers were shot there in late August, including serious injury only because they were wearing bullet vests. Last week, the RCMP heightened the circle around the natives when they sent in four army body carriers backed up by heavily armed police officers. And B.C. Premier Mike

Harcourt said the shooting at Ipperwash should continue the protestations of Gustafus Lake, who also want the authorities to turn over private land that they want to be sacred, to lay down their weapons and end their occupation. "That's the way these situations end if people don't see reason and sanity," Harcourt said in Vancouver. "So I may now agree to the illegal occupants at Gustafus Lake, lay down your automatic weapons and come out peacefully."

In contrast to the situation at Gustafus Lake, tension between police and natives near Ipperwash had been running high for years. In 1982, during the Second World War, the federal government seized a large portion of the Kettle and Stoney Point Indian reserve and built a military base on it. Two years ago, when negotiations for the return of Camp Ipperwash seemed to be going nowhere, a number of natives from the reserve occupied part of it. When that failed to bring results, native militants allegedly fired a bomb on a building and sprayed others with gunfire. Finally, in July, when the militants drove a school bus through a gate into the camp, the military abandoned the base. And even though Ottawa has now agreed to turn the land over to the band, the process is being delayed again by lawsuits filed against the federal government by the band and by some of the protesters who occupied the camp.

Last week, the same group of natives that occupied the military camp seized Ipperwash Provincial Park, which adjoins the military base and the reserve. And when police pulled back last week, the natives were left in control of the park. According to Tim Bessette, chief of the Kettle and Stoney Point First Nation, police officers agreed not to move on the demonstrators until further negotiations took place. In return, Bessette promised that the natives inside the park would not harm residents of nearby cottages. But an Ontario regional chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Gordon Fourn, said the government is in for a long fight. "This is our land," said Fourn. "We will not give it up."

Before the confrontation with police, the 400-acre band had been divided over the decision to occupy the park. And most of the militants belonged to a breakaway splinter group who were not willing to wait for a legal settlement to the ownership question. But George's death united the feuding groups. As about 400 native people gathered at the recreation centre on the former military base to



The shooting of a native man by police ignites angry protests



George's motives must be understood before protesters were arrested

hour speeches by Mercredi and other chiefs, they were deeply angered. Some carried eagle feathers and beat drums as they sang. Others used their hands to make their fight. "I see our people is harmed," said Bessette. "They harm us all."

The clash also told the crowd that they can expect the support of natives from across the country. In fact, throughout the day, natives pointed that hundreds of other native people, including spiritual leaders, were on their way to help guard and hold the territory. Few had arrived by week's end, but the community remained hopeful that support for their cause would spread. "This will bring us all together," said Gladys Lubian, a soft-spoken elderly Indian woman, as she listened to the chief's speech.

Even Mercredi, who is a strong advocate of finding a peaceful solution to the standoff at Ipperwash and Gustafus Lake, said that George's death would not quickly be forgotten. He said both Harris and Harcourt had appropriated that dispute by refusing to negotiate with representatives of the groups involved. Harris last week said he



Mercredi to arrive, his face was scuffed black with charcoal. He had made a weapon, a custom brass knuckle, made on his shoulder. His assignment, he said, "I'm here on the war now start again." If "we" does break out again, Ipperwash and Gustafus Lake may just represent the beginning of a long struggle for Wab and his generation.

JOHN FENNELL, at Ipperwash

Native protesters burn tents after the shooting of Anthony George. "This is our land. We will not give it up."

would not negotiate until the natives left the park. Still, and Mercredi, "they cannot justify the use of force to suppress our people."

Many residents of the reserve all in say they believed that Harris's election on June 8 signalled the adoption of a new get-tough policy towards natives. Howard Harris, a band member who works in nearby Sarnia, said that until Harris's election, police had not attempted to intervene. But because the alleged peaceful took place after dark, he said a suggestion that the police arrested the natives, he also said he expected the band to be more militant in the future. In fact, following the shooting more than 150 residents of the community marched on the police roadblocks, and then started fires and blocked roads with burning cars and trees. "We are going to take what belongs to us," said Mercredi. "Whether the white man likes it or not."

And as the native leaders addressed the band, many of the protesters who had occupied the park, some dressed in green hunting clothes, listened but did not applaud the leaders, who they believed had not been militant enough. They also strongly denied police statements that they were armed and had shot a police officer. "We did not expect it would be peaceful," said one teenage protester, adding that he was in the park at the time of the shooting. "We were not armed—and everyone knew it."

The anger expressed at Ipperwash may soon spread across Canada. Fred Paul, an elder with the Assembly of First Nations, travelled to the reserve with Mercredi. He said many younger native people across the country have become increasingly frustrated by the slow pace of negotiating land-claim settlements. He noted that successive governments in Ottawa had tried various approaches for natives, but so far had failed to resolve the disputes. As a result, he said, an increasing number of young natives are now willing to stand up and fight. Said Paul: "I blame the Prime Minister because he has never lost a single promise he had made to us."

Now, that anger appears to be swelling even among children, as they march in the Kewey Wab. As he walked outside the band office for Mercredi to arrive, his face was scuffed black with charcoal. He had made a weapon, a custom brass knuckle, made on his shoulder. His assignment, he said, "I'm here on the war now start again." If "we" does break out again, Ipperwash and Gustafus Lake may just represent the beginning of a long struggle for Wab and his generation.

Voting for change

Newfoundlanders back reforms in education

It was meant to end the whole agonizing debate. But when the final vote was tallied last week—54 per cent in favor of the Newfoundland government's proposal to end church control over the provincial school system, and 46 per cent against—distinguishing the losers from the winners proved difficult. Cheers echoed through the St. John's offices of the province's Catholic Education Council, whose leaders insisted that the government's slim margin of victory would force it to reopen negotiations with the churches. Across town that same night, Premier Clyde Wells declared the eight-point cap "a lifeline to ignore." Yet, even the strong-willed premier seemed disappointed at the fact that only 51.9 per cent of Newfoundlanders had even bothered to vote on this



Wells voting with wife. Elsewhere, churches jeer his bid

element's plan to proceed with a constitutional amendment that would allow education reform.

Still, Newfoundland has a history of having big decisions on close results. The province, as Wells himself pointed out, entered Confederation in 1949 after a provincewide referendum vote of just 52 to 45 per cent. What he neglected to note was that nearly half a century later the question of whether joining Canada was good for Newfoundland had become an emotional one for many Islanders. Last last week, the Liberal cabinet decided to press on with plans to reform the education system—thus virtually ensuring that the historic referendum of 1995 would also hold an enduring and controversial place in Newfoundland history.

The government, after all, is mulling with some 270 years of religious tradition. Missionaries from the Church of England set up the first schools in Newfoundland in the 17th century. And church control of schools was so much a

part of Newfoundland society that it was enshrined in the Constitution under the Terms of Union, the document that sealed the province's decision to join Canada in 1949.

Reforms of the education system, as a 1993 provincial royal commission concluded, was badly needed. During two years of negotiations with the churches, the government vowed the duty of fiscal responsibility, arguing that it could save up to \$80 million a year by merging the province's 27 existing school boards, which are now operated by four separate denominational groups, and creating 30 non-denominational boards at their place.

Church leaders, though, balked at the proposal, maintaining that the government's real intention was to strip churches of their constitutional rights and to replace sectarian religious schools with secular ones.

When it became time to put the matter to a vote, the government simply presented the facts and left Newfoundlanders to decide for themselves. But the No side, particularly the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, cut into public support for change by the system by treating the referendum fight like an election—launching hubbub-filled campaigns, canvassing door-to-door, even using the pulpit to spread their gospel. "Those who supported the No side ran an organized campaign for a longer period than you would run as a general election," Wells gushed last week. "So you have to take into account the fact that in all probability virtually every last No vote was gotten out." Now, the pace of change should accelerate. This fall, the provincial government will introduce legislation to alter one of the 16 Terms of Union, which prevents the assembly from making changes in the education system that affect denominational schools. That achieved, Newfoundland will ask Ottawa to formally adopt the changes. On Parliament Hill, the matter is viewed as primarily a provincial issue. Although Ottawa has been deliberately coy about its position, most observers expect the legislation to receive quick approval.

Back in the province, though, the dust of debate could get even louder. Last week, members of the No side rode a roller coaster of emotion—first elated over the prospect that their side made during the campaign, then angry over the government's decision to press on with its proposals for change. Some threatened to challenge any legislative to implement school reform in the courts. Others simply vowed to fight on, as good Christians have always done. "People have spoken," declared Gerald Falke, executive director of the Catholic Education Council. "We will use whatever is necessary to ensure that our rights continue to be respected in this province." Religious or not, a bitter battle may be about to turn even hotter.

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Canada NOTES

CHOOSING CALGARY

The federal government named Calgary as the Canadian city that will receive a bid to host the Expo 2005 world's fair. Ottawa-Hall had also been vying for the honor, but federal Heritage Minister Michel Duguay said the government chose Calgary because Alberta had promised to cover any losses if the fair was held there. The Ontario government did not make a similar commitment to an Ottawa-Hall Expo. An international committee is expected to select a site for the world's fair in 1997.

VICTIM COMPENSATION

In a precedent-setting ruling, the B.C. Supreme Court awarded \$1 million to four children whose mother was murdered by their father. Linda Williams was beaten to death by her husband Glenn on March 21, 1993. He pleaded guilty to manslaughter and is currently serving a five-year prison sentence. The victim's sister sued Williams on behalf of the children under the province's Family Compensation Act, which allows people hurt by a wrongful death or act to seek damages.

PEARSON PAYOUT

Four companies involved in the cancelled deal to privatize Toronto's Pearson International Airport will receive a total of \$1.6 million from Ottawa to end their lawsuits. The privatization deal was signed by the previous Conservative government but cancelled by Prime Minister Jean Chretien shortly after his Liberal party's 1995 electoral victory. The Senate is currently conducting an inquiry into the cancellation, and other companies are demanding further compensation.

BENEFITS RESTORED

Ontario's Conservative government restored to \$400 per day the amount that the province's medicine program will pay for emergency medical services required by residents when they are out of the country. The rate had been slashed to \$100 in July, 1994, by the previous New Democratic government. The \$400 maximum will be paid only in cases where surgery is required. Other types of care will be subject to a \$200 daily maximum.

AIR CRASH WRECKAGE

By week's end, divers had recovered four bodies and the black box flight recorder after an airplane crash that took the lives of seven British Royal Air Force crew members at the annual Canadian International Airshow in Toronto on the Labor Day weekend. Fear conditions hampered recovery of the remaining three bodies.



BANK BUST: Ottawa police bust away a suspect after two men armed with a sawed-off shotgun kept 11 people hostage for nine hours during a bungled robbery attempt at a Bank of Nova Scotia branch. The gunmen, who had escaped days earlier from a Montreal-area prison where they were serving lengthy sentences for armed robbery, surrendered and released all their hostages unharmed.

Bernardo launches an appeal


Paul Bernardo is going to prison for a minimum of 25 years, but he is not going quietly. Bernardo filed a prisoner's notice last week asking the Ontario Court of Appeal to overturn his first-degree murder convictions in the deaths of teenagers Leslie Maharry and Kirsten French on the grounds that Judge Patrick LeSage made many legal errors while presiding over the sensational four-month trial. Bernardo is scheduled to appear before LeSage in Toronto on Sept. 13 for sentencing on seven other offences, including kidnapping, unlawful confinement and aggravated sexual assault. Crown lawyers are expected to seek a dangerous offender classification for Bernardo, meaning that he could be locked up indefinitely.

Meanwhile, Bernardo's first lawyer, Ken Murray, broke his lengthy silence about why he withdrew videotapes depicting the attacks on French, Maharry and other young women for 30 months after removing them from Bernardo's home in St. Catharines, Ont., in May, 1992. Crown lawyers say they would not base

conclusion of a plea-bargain deal with Bernardo's ex-wife, Karla Homulka, if the tapes had been viewed or immediately destroyed. He was sentenced in July, 1993, to 12 years in prison for manslaughter in exchange for testifying against her former husband, Murray, who is under police investigation, issued a statement saying that, on Bernardo's written instructions, he did not view the tapes until after Homulka's plea bargain.

Murder one

Four hundred angry residents marched in the Vancouver suburb of Surrey, demanding the reinstatement of capital punishment after Brent Shaney Melt, 20, was charged with first-degree murder in the sex killing of Melissa Dawn Deley. The 10-year-old girl was abducted from her Surrey home in the middle of the night while her family slept. Her body was found hours later in the family's car, which had been stolen. She had been sexually abused and strangled.



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POWER OF PROTEST

As the mid, a few rubber dunks could not prevent a nuclear explosion from erupting from the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The earth trembled and the blue waters of the South Pacific frothed a metallic white last week as the French government detonated a 30,000-ton atomic weapon beneath the ocean floor—the first time in three years a western country has carried out such a test. Hours before the explosion, French police at the Mururoa test site arrested two Greenpeace protesters who had moved through security lines in inflatable boats. After five days of what was not warfare, it seemed that Paris had triumphed over the demonstrators. But in France's drama, the activists had already whipped up a frenzy of outrage that spread around the globe, souring diplomatic and trade relations. "There are millions of people out there helping us," said Thomas Scholz, a Greenpeace campaign coordinator in Tahiti. "Even though we couldn't stop the first test, I hope we can stop the second test because the outrage around the world will be so great."

Outrage turned to rampage in Papeete, capital of French Polynesia, as political groups seeking independence from France led thousands in a night of riotous burning. Scores of people were injured as protesters looted shops, looted stores and took over the airport, causing more than \$15 million in damage. But even before the nuclear blast, in Singapore and Vancouver, in Moscow and Lams, tens of thousands had taken to the streets to anger over the French tests. Many considered it as an unnecessary threat to world peace and the environment at a time when the Cold War concept of nuclear deterrence has become an outdated strategy in Taiwan, student protesters dressed up as cock roaches, warning that the enemy insects would be the only survivors in a post-nuclear world. A 30-year-old Spaniard went so far as to hijack a French plane from the island of Majorca in Geneva, where he surrendered.

French politicians were prepared for civil protest. But they were taken aback by the level of condemnation that came from other governments, labeling the international campaign "hysterical." New Zealand and Chile recalled their ambassadors. Government ministers from both Sweden and Japan attended a protest march in Tahiti, sparking the most severe of the diplomatic ruses. "I think this is nothing but a terror for us," Japan's Finance Minister,



Pacific sea lion alert: Greenpeace in Vancouver (below): worldwide fury

France begins a round of nuclear tests, sparking global outrage



Masaohito Takekuma, told the nation.

While others cried apocalypse, French magazines were relaxing on deck chairs as the blast went off. They immediately broke into applause and proclaimed the test a success, adding they detected no radiation at the water's surface. France has long refused to allow independent testing of radiation levels around its nuclear test sites. Officials have claimed that the launch rocket that forces the hydrogen into the sea prevents atomic waste from seeping into the ocean—even though the release heat transforms the rock into a caustic glob of radioactive glass. Some scientists dispute the French assessment, saying leaks can occur within 10 to 300 years. More alarming, health workers have reported signs of radioactive disease among native populations in rough hilly areas during three decades of testing. Since 1966, France has conducted 135 test blasts, at the Mururoa and neighboring Fangatahau.

No wonder the most dramatic protests came from the Pacific region. In Australia this summer, people have thrown rocks at French restaurants. One angry student firebombed the French consulate in Perth. Residents complained of a 30-cent drop in sales of French cars and wine. One report surfaced last week of a dog living found in a supermarket package of French cokes. Prime Minister Paul Keating responded to public indignation by having French firms drop bidding for Australian defense contracts. After a bitter recall of troops between the two countries, French ambassador Dominique Gilard accused Australia of "long harshness." "Deserted Guard." "Is France really an internationalist?" "Did we learn Hiroshima?" Keating, in turn, called the French blast a "nuclear" in New Zealand, Prime Minister Jim Bolger accused France of "nuclear colonialism." He also filed suit against France at the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Korea recalled its ambassador to France and its troops stood in their positions. Western Samoa and Tuvalu boycotted the South Pacific Games held this summer in Tahiti. In Fiji, the hard-nosed association boycotted French wine and other goods. And a traditional dance canoe from the Cook Islands paddled to join the Greenpeace 25-boat flotilla that gathered last week at the edge of Mururoa's 12-mile exclusion zone.

But it was the criticism from Japan—an important French trading partner and the only nation yet to suffer a nuclear at-



tack—that had a disconcerting impact in Paris. Finance Minister Takekuma's "terror" remark, coming 30 years after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, earned a particular sting. Chirac sought peace by exercising a planned visit to Japan last year. He also scrapped plans for a state visit to France by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson for that country's support of the Tahiti march.

France's other allies were startled in their response. The United States "regretted" the test, but lacked the diplomatic effort to work more on persuading Paris to delay detonation by a few days to avoid embarrassing President Bill Clinton while he was in the Pacific on a trip to Hawaii. Britain, still a nuclear power, came closest to backing France's right to do what it sees fit. "French nuclear tests are a matter for the French," said a British defense official. "It is not for us to comment on French requirements and how they choose to meet

them." German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said he had conveyed his objections privately to Chirac but would not jeopardize Franco-German relations by pressing the issue. Canadian Defense Minister Jean Charest was even more restrained, restricting generally on Ottawa's desire to see an international ban on nuclear testing. The lead alliance of Western powers attacked of a double standard, given international efforts to stop developing countries from acquiring nuclear arms, and the widespread criticism in China for carrying out two nuclear tests in May and August.

In Paris, the left wing daily *Libération* printed a retouched photo that showed half of Chirac's face burned by radiation. And Jean Jacques Cassard, 65, one of the country's most popular figures, came out strongly against the test. Said Cassard: "We have a biased biological, bacteriological and chemical weapons. I did to see why even more dan-

Activists in Japan: echoes of Hiroshima

gerous weapons such as nuclear weapons cannot be outlawed." But while polls show that 60 per cent of French voters oppose the tests, an equal number support their country's desire to remain a nuclear power, making it unlikely that last week's blast will affect Chirac's domestic support.

The French president last swore that the current series of tests mark the end of an era, and the beginning Chirac says they are designed to perfect computer simulation programs that will make further tests unnecessary, allowing the country to sign an international treaty banning nuclear testing, which is expected to be finalized in Geneva in 1996. Like every other French leader since Charles de Gaulle, he considers nuclear deterrence to be at the heart of France's foreign policy, and a vital symbol of the country's claim to great power status. Chirac says the current tests are therefore "indispensable"—although he conceded to a television audience last week that France may detonate fewer bombs and complete the testing program earlier than planned.

That is itself marked progress for Greenpeace, which has been on something of a roll recently. In June, the six-nation nuclear group forced Shell to cancel plans to pump an oil slick off the coast of the United States, by asking it as the North Sea. Greenpeace attacked last week that it had come in collecting the amount of oil left on the rig. But that did little to deter support for the group. Founded in 1971 by a handful of fringe protesters, after a spontaneous drive to stop U.S. nuclear tests near Alaska, Greenpeace is now a force to be reckoned with.

Going there has not been easy. In a 1980 fight over nuclear tests, Paris ordered the sinking of the English Greenpeace flagship, *Rainbow Warrior*, in a New Zealand harbor, killing one man. Last week, the French navy fired a missile at the *Rainbow Warrior II*, and another Greenpeace vessel, forcing its members to continue their efforts in motorized dinghies. "A protest group running up against the French navy obviously overstepped the limits," said Greenpeace's Scholz. "But it's not just about two rubber submarines. It's about creating public protests and adding to the number of governments around the world who oppose the nuclear tests." As French technicians at the Mururoa test site prepared for the second explosion in the series, Greenpeace members reinforced their efforts to show that the power of protest can overcome the force of nuclear deterrence.

NOMI NEWBORN with RICHARD SALLOP in Melbourne

In defence of women

Beijing fails to silence the world's women at a UN forum

No guest is as welcome in a friend's house that he will not become a nuisance after three days.

—Tsun Maocun Pao, 254-184 BC

To China's spite and conservative leaders, the guests had only become a nuisance long before the three days were up. And to the more outspoken delegates among the nearly 30,000 women from 180 countries who gathered for UN-sponsored meetings in Beijing last week, the actions of their hosts left a lot to be desired as well. Even before formal sessions began, some of the visitors were complaining of poor bus service, rudeness, sexual harassment and heavy-handed security. Then, early in the week, at the Fourth World Conference on Women, the wife of the President of the United States dropped a bomb. It was indecent, said Hillary Rodham Clinton, for China to have requested on its promise of visas for some women, the request into its government for denying citizens the right to speak their minds, and for its one-child policy, which forces millions of women to seek abortion or sterilization. At week's end, China fell back. Criticizing other countries, huffed a foreign ministry spokesman, was unwarranted "and against the nature of this conference."

But that threat—setting social, political and human rights targets for women between now and the next decennial conference in 2005—lost the spotlight to demonstrations, mostly by delegates to a non-governmental (NGO) women's forum in the Beijing suburb of Huanan. On Tuesday, trailed by a throng of journalists and flanked by Chinese security services, 100 lesbians from 30 nations walked alone and paraded through the conference site, chanting "Liberty, equality and heterosexuality." They started with outraged Chinese women. "They are sick," shouted a Sudanese woman—and drew an overflow crowd to a workshop on dating techniques. Among the topics here to spot another lesbian. "More often than not," said an American woman, "lesbian harassment is in my face." Later in the week, about 20 lesbians interrupted the main conference in Beijing by satiating a 25-foot purple laser beam bearing the words "Lesbian rights are human rights." On security grounds, officials the banner and banned the women out of the building.

The protests elsewhere were clearly political. At one point, a dozen Scandinavian members of Parliament—11 women and one man, opposed to China's continued nuclear testing—disrupted the steps of the Great Hall of the People in Tiananmen Square and handed a protest to Chinese parliamentary leader Qiao Guh. Other political demonstrators were less amiable. Australian ambassador Michael Lightowler delivered two sharply worded protests, one objecting to

sexual attacks on Tibetan exiles by China's official Tibetan delegates, the other following an attempt by Chinese security men to arrest microphones from a group of NGOs meeting at a Beijing hotel. The dramatic arrest of the work was China's sharp-edged speech—a thinly veiled criticism of China's leaders—to the opening session. "It is intolerable," she said. "That many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend or have been subjected to verbal abuse during the past. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments."

And in remarks clearly aimed at Beijing's positive population control law, she said: "It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being married against their will."

To all of that, China reacted in stages. On Wednesday a day after the speech, the official Xinhua News Agency reported that Clinton had been late for a speech to the NGOs. On Thursday, foreign ministry spokesman Chen Jian told journalists, "We take note of the fact that some people from some countries made some unwarranted remarks or criticisms of other countries." On Friday, Xinhua hit it stride, lambasting the United States for its record on women's rights. "The position and conditions of Chinese women are in no way inferior to the situation of the women in the United States and are, indeed, much better on the whole." China's 1949 constitution guarantees equal rights for women, said Xinhua, but the U.S. Constitution does not. "It is quite obvious that the legal status of Chinese women is far superior to that of their American counterparts." And if that wasn't enough, it concluded, look at political status since China's first general election in 1953, 90 per cent of Chinese women have cast ballots in one election or another, compared with the 30 to 40 per cent of American women who vote in congressional elections.

Being overwhelmed the week and the two proiled marches, China had lobbed long and stubbornly to be chosen as host for the world conference. When it succeeded, Beijing made no secret of its conviction that Clinton's stance would help to guarantee the success of the venture. It may well turn out to have done just that—but not for Clinton's anger. Then for the women and the means they journeyed far to promote.

RAY CORLETT



Lesbian protest; women delegates in Beijing fought diverse guests



Raising fragile hopes

Amid the fighting, Bosnian leaders talk of peace

There was no shortage of tough talk in the Balkans last week, so short of any sign that warring parties might be ready to negotiate. It was the fighting in an end to one's terms. It appears that they have not had sufficient gain inflicted on them."

It was UN spokesman Lt. Col. Chris Vermeir's explanation for the refusal of Bosnian Serb leaders to end their siege of Sarajevo. So NATO weapons kept hitting over Serb positions outside the Bosnian capital—whether permitting "cutting dropping bombs." Every day at 8:30 a.m. strikes against the city were getting closer and closer and clattered. "I declared UN spokesman Alexander Ivanovic of the Bosnian Serb square-jawed commander Gen. Ratko Mladic. But Mladic was busy inside his own command to NATO, and wanted to fight on "The more they bomb us, the stronger we are," the general told reporters who clustered into the Bosnian Serb "capital" at Pale to witness NATO's demolition job. Perhaps the only news not heard with interest was that of the Bosnian Serb television weather forecaster, who told his listeners, "Tomorrow, unfortunately, sunny and clear."

Clear skies meant more air strikes, but there was no guarantee that they would hasten an end to the three-month conflict. The hail of air strikes attracted some limited military objectives by damaging, though not crippling, the Bosnian Serb war machine. And it certainly increased the anger in the West over past Bosnian Serb shelling of civilians ("Serbs go right," was the reaction of *The New York Times* last week). But the American-led military might occupied with an offer to convene new peace talks. While NATO pilots waited for clouds to clear over Serb-held territory, the U.S. diplomatic corps initiated enough arms to get the three warring parties to a negotiating table for the first time in more than a year. When they emerged from a day of meetings at Geneva last week, the warring parties had agreed on the rough outlines of a deal to recognize Bosnia's borders, while giving Serbs a

territory of their own within the country. Much as any sign that warring parties might be ready to negotiate, many observers found the prospect of the deal deeply unsettling. The American plan proposes to divide the Bosnian republic along ethnic lines, with the Bosnian government retaining a two-thirds 51 per cent of its territory.

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Serbs over Pale clear skies meant more air strikes

ry. That would require a "concession" from the Serbs, who would have to give up some of the 70 per cent of Bosnia's territory they control. The deal, as always, is in the details of the new map. But the job of carving up Bosnia will, usually, be made easier by the warring parties' fighting and the accompanying population shifts, which will lead the former Yugoslavians much more clearly partitioned to "pure" ethnic groupings. The American plan also proposes a new political arrange-

ment in the region, allowing Bosnian Serbs some autonomy and some form of alliance with Serbia. That solution has the advantage of maintaining, if only on paper, the status of Bosnia's ethnic borders. But it sends the message, said UN Secretary-General in the Balkans, that "the world community has accepted the concept of ethnically pure states."

It would not be the first time that ethnic partition helped to secure peace. Greeks and Turks swapped homelands of thousands of their ethnic kin three times under the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, and there were large population exchanges in central Europe following the Second World War. But many politicians in the Balkans worry that an ethnically based solution to the Bosnian crisis may actually trigger new conflicts in the region by encouraging other minority groups to demand the right to affiliate with their mother countries.

Rightly or wrongly, Washington's recent conduct in the region appears to signal a desire to end the fighting regardless of the cost to minority rights. "The Clinton administration decried the Serbs with the tacit approval of the Americans," said one Western diplomat. "The people of this region have hoped for the promise of self-determination over the people of human rights. And we have gone too far down that road here to turn back. Everybody would like to see the region return to the multi-ethnic state it was, but it's not going to happen."

There were still world leaders who were more open to the idea of the need to preserve liberal principles in whatever deal is finally reached. Dangling Bosnia along ethnic lines "would be an insult to our values and to the future," warned French President Jacques Chirac. "Bosnia must again become the link between continents that for many decades contributed to a country living in peace." But at the same speech, Chirac added that he was willing to consider what he called "flexible moral arrangements."

Bosnian leaders went to Geneva last week seeking to resist any deal that carved up their state, but they will soon enter tremendous pressure to negotiate that conflict as an end to the suffering. "Bosnians and tolerance still live in Sarajevo," said Mira Petrovica, Sarajevo's executive director of the Swiss Foundation, a human rights organization. "We have waited more than three and a half years for this moment, where it looks as if we can stop the war. But Bosnia, and what it stands for, must survive."

DWIGHT WALLACE in London with correspondence



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HONDA



World NOTES

A watershed for the defence

Los Angeles jurors will have to decide the fate of accused murderer O.J. Simpson without hearing the former football star testifying in his own defence. Nor will they have a chance to hear a second cross-examination of

police detective Mark Fuhrman, who avoided his constitutional right to remain silent and not risk self-incrimination at the trial into the killings of Simpson's wife, Nicole, and her friend Ron Goldman.

Simpson's lawyers declared there was no need for their client to testify since the prosecution case is already in "disbelief". And some legal critics said the defence team was wise to keep Simpson off the stand to avoid the chance that he will appear unconvincing under questioning by prosecutor Marcia Clark. But the strategy could backfire if jurors are left wondering why an innocent man would not speak up on his own behalf.

The defence team's decision clearly came

as a result of dramatic developments in their attempt to discredit star prosecution witness Fuhrman. The jury—and millions of television viewers—heard witness after witness testify about Fuhrman's racist views and

cross-examination of police detective Mark Fuhrman, who avoided his constitutional right to remain silent and not risk self-incrimination at the trial into the killings of Simpson's wife, Nicole, and her friend Ron Goldman.

Judge Lance Ito ruled that the jury should not be present to hear Fuhrman plead the Fifth Amendment, but the judge advised jurors that Fuhrman's "unavailability for cross-examination" was a factor that they may want to consider in "evaluating his credibility

as a witness". Later, Clark successfully appealed that part of Ito's ruling, on the grounds that it was prejudicial. But despite that, the work was clearly a watershed for the defence, which contends that Fuhrman planted evidence in order to frame Simpson.



Fuhrman's racist views

ISRAELI KILLINGS

A Jewish extremist group, named Gyal, claimed responsibility for the murder of a 25-year-old Arab man, Helwan, The Israeli army claimed the killing was soldiers, although they were army uniforms. The murder came the same week that two Israelis were killed by Palestinians. Extremists on both sides are seeking to escalate the price process.

IRAQ'S DIRM ARSINAL

Iraqing chemical to the UN that it has major stocks of chemical and biological weapons, including the very agents anthrax and botulin. President Saddam Hussein provided the information three weeks after his seven-law had in Jordan, apparently leaving the defecter would reveal the state secrets.

GERMANY ARRESTS NAZI

Munich police charged U.S. neo-Nazi leader Gary Lauck with inciting racial hatred and spreading Nazi propaganda, charges that carry a five-year jail sentence. Lauck, 42, who sports an Adolf Hitler mustache had been leading a far-right group in Denmark. Authorities there extradited the Nebraska native under cover of darkness so as not to offend Lauck's faithful supporters.

UN CHARGES CROAT

A UN tribunal charged a Croatian Croat militia leader with war crimes, accusing him of ordering a 1993 massacre of 16 civilians in central Bosnia. Jozo Rajic, commander of the anti-styled Croatian Serbians Council, is in custody in the Croatian area known as Herzegovina.

CLUE TO INFANT DEATHS

Boston researchers found a defective cell in the brain stems of babies that died of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS), or crib deaths. The defect appears to stop before the infant's brain sends out a signal to breathe in state air, preventing their from waking up or coughing to eliminate the hazard. Doctors advise parents to place sleeping infants on their sides or backs to lower the risk. Harvard Medical School pathologists warn the finding provides a clue, but neither a cause nor a cure for SIDS. Low birth weights and exposure to cigarette smoke are also risk factors.

BRIDGE VICTIM TOOK DRUGS

Cops in Detroit found the drag racer or "angel drag" in the blood of a woman who jumped to her death after she was beaten in front of a crowd. The finding will be used in the defence of a 19-year-old man charged in the death.

Deadly hurricane

Hurricane Luis hit a swath of destruction through the Caribbean, killing at least 15 and causing hundreds of millions of dollars in damage. Hundreds of people were reported missing on the island of St. Martin and thousands of houses were destroyed without electricity. Up to 2,000 people were homeless as the French side of the island, St. Martin. The storm, with winds up to 225 km/h, also raged the islands of Anguilla, Antigua, Barbuda, St. Kitts and Nevis. Police from neighbouring countries were alerted in to help combat widespread looting.

Luis was the most powerful hurricane to sweep through the region since Hurricane Hugo six years ago. Last week, wind and rain ran flipped paths over to the water and battered houses. "You could hear trees cracking, you could hear roofs blowing off," said one American tourist in St. Martin. Many of the area's small vacation islands are

flat, affording little protection from the brutal weather. On the more heavily populated island of Puerto Rico residents relied on relief after the centre of the storm passed by 100 miles to the northwest.

'Gross misconduct'

Republican Senator Bob Packwood ended a 25-year political career in a cloud of shame after a Senate ethics committee found him guilty of "gross and persistent misconduct", including sexual harassment and obstruction of justice. Packwood denied wrongdoing throughout a three-year investigation, but was forced to resign last week after the committee published a 30-volume report on the Oregon politician's behavior. "There were not merely stolen kisses, as Senator Packwood has claimed," said Senator Mitch McConnell, chairman of the ethics committee. He added that his colleague had "displayed" a "habitual pattern of grossness. Menstrual sexual advances" directed at women over whom he had authority

Since this fall, the skies will open and television will rain down from above. The long promised deluge of channels will be delivered by a sophisticated system of satellites and computers, all designed to meet program like *Home Improvement* and reruns of *Murphy Brown* look better than ever. Known as direct broadcast TV, the technology has been employed in various forms for years by viewers in Europe, Asia and the United States, but was held back in Canada by federal government regulators because it was seen as a threat to Canadian culture. With that obstacle now out of the way, major players are lining up their services and preparing to fight for subscribers. The biggest aerial market for direct-broadcast TV, which allows homes to pick up over 100 channels with a 24-inch dish, is expected to be the 1.25 million homes who currently lack access to cable. But the cable industry will also feel some competitive heat. Many of its more than seven million consumers are fed up with the service and will be lured to home in to the larger selection offered by satellite. Says Dave Stewart, a partner in Ottawa's *Stake Satellite*

DIGITAL DISHES

Communications, "People are calling because they are looking for an alternative to cable."

The first test case Canadians will get at direct-to-home television will come from ExpressVu, which is preparing to go on air later this fall. Two other competitors are in the wings, awaiting approval from the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which will weigh hearings on their applications on Oct. 30.

But consumers who hope that satellite TV will bring them a host of previously forbidden American channels are going to be disappointed. All three contenders, ExpressVu, of Mississauga, Ont.; Homestar, a service of Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary; and Power DirectTV of Toronto, will offer a similar mix of channels already approved by the CRTC. The cost for a dish and accompanying hardware will be about \$1,800 plus tax. This will make monthly charges starting from under \$10, depending on the number of services selected.

Direct-broadcast television was supposed to be available across the country as Sept. 1, when ExpressVu had initially said it would begin operations. But that date fell by the wayside when the company, a consortium that includes BCE Inc. of Montreal and Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. of Mississauga, Ont., found it could not get enough space on the Anik E1 satellite, owned by

Stay tuned: satellite TV is about to come to Canada

Telcel Canada of Ottawa. ExpressVu blames the cable industry for delaying its launch, an accusation that is in keeping with what has become a nasty industry battle. Ted Boyle, ExpressVu's president, said in a company newsletter this month that the Canadian cable industry, which has its own plans for satellite service, had persuaded specialty broadcasters to delay their switch to new digital technology that would have freed up satellite transponder space and allowed ExpressVu to meet its launch date. Cable industry officials deny the accusation, saying they are being unfairly blamed for ExpressVu's own blunders. "They're using the cable industry as a scapegoat," says J. R. Shaw president of Shaw Communications, Canada's second-largest cable company and the biggest shareholder in the Homestar consortium, made up entirely of cable companies. Industry analysts

say that Nov. 1 is the new target launch date.

But Chris Frank, ExpressVu's vice-president of government and regulatory affairs, declines to name a date. Still, Paul Lash, director of North American sales for Telcel, says that ExpressVu hopes are realistic for satellite space in the near future. About 70 per cent of existing customers might get needed Anik E1 transponders will be coming direct compression by year-end, leaving up enough space for ExpressVu to launch its service.

The third satellite player in Power DirectTV, a joint venture between Montreal-based Power Corp. and DirectTV, a Los Angeles-based company owned by GM Hughes Electronics Corp. Instead of out of the market by the CRTC, Power DirectTV sold its channels, Jon Bell, signed a long, and ultimately successful, campaign to break into the market. It convinced the federal Liberal government to order the CRTC to reverse its 1994 decision that gave ExpressVu a head start. Because ExpressVu's services will be delivered solely by Canadian satellite, the CRTC allowed it to go ahead without a U.S. license. Power DirectTV, as the other side, uses both a Canadian and a U.S. satellite, and for that reason was obliged to apply for a license. Although the government cleared its removal of the CRTC's decision was only meant to open the market to competition, not punish 10% what Power's president,

Andre Desrosiers, a Jean Chrétien's senior aide, and that Bell was no more to answer 12- and prime minister Pierre Trudeau.

Over the past year, while the regulatory and other battles raged, many Canadians who wanted direct-broadcast service lured in the so-called grey market, using an American address to subscribe to TV services that are not licensed in Canada. Bell says the grey market probably mis Canadian companies of about \$200 million a year, based on an estimate of about 500,000 backyard dishes. Most of these subscribers have older 10-inch dishes that can pick up signals from 16 or 19 satellites, although with poorer picture quality than that offered by direct-broadcast technology. They are people like a retired Ottawa public servant who spent \$1,800 to get a rooftop dish that brings in 35 television channels, 27 CD-quality music channels, plus 99 pay-per-view channels. It costs him \$40 a month, plus an additional \$14 a month for five channels of Home Box Office. Before, he was spending \$67 a month for cable. "We

Power DirectTV's Bell (left), ExpressVu's Boyle (below), prepared to compete with cable



were getting value for money," he says. For its programming lineup, ExpressVu promises a loose package of the major Canadian networks, ethnic, adult and educational channels, as well as CRTC radio, for less than \$14 a month. A full range of channels—unlike that of extended cable packages, plus 16 channels of commercial-free CD-quality music—will cost for \$24 a month. There will also be 22 English pay-per-view and eight French pay-per-view channels available.

Homestar spokesman Michael DiPella says his company plans, in addition to its basic television menu, 22 commercial-free music channels. There will also be 16 to 20 English pay-per-view and about 10 French pay-per-view channels. DirectTV is being most open about packaging and pricing, but says its option will carry about 65 TV channels, 12 music

channels and about 70 pay channels. The wide choice of pay TV channels will be a key factor for many consumers—a "virtual video store," says Bell. In addition, DirectTV and ExpressVu plan to offer Internet service to computer users, employing a combination of the satellite line and a standard telephone line. One downside for buyers of satellite TV is that all three companies use different technologies. Customers who sign up with one service will be locked in unless they want to buy new equipment.

All three services are going to be watching one another's prices carefully. "We'll be competitively priced," says Bell. For his part, DiPella says, "We're going to price it to be competitive with the other guys." But DiPella, vice-president of planning for Shaw as well as the spokesman for Homestar, does have a caveat from his association with a cable company. "We are not going to price this to the point that we are cannibalizing our own."

Although Canada is one of the most cabled countries on earth, many people live in areas where cable service is poor, offering only a small number of channels and substandard picture quality. Bell says 500,000 potential customers live in areas where cable offers less than 20 channels. In the short term, says Glen Campbell, an analyst with Toronto brokerage firm Boustead Wintberg Inc., directly serviced Canadians, and those without any cable service at all, will be the prime market for the satellite companies. Thus, the industry should act, at first, pose a major threat to cable. "There's no price advantage and no programming advantage," Campbell says.

That, at any rate, is what the cable giants are saying. But a recent study by the Yankee Group, a Boston-based consulting firm, says that so far as the United States the direct-to-home subscribers are being drawn almost equally from cabled and uncabled areas. "After having been snubbed by their cable operators," it says, "cable customers are jumping ship."

The Canadians need likely to avoid this trap. The cable companies are already ready to subscribe to premium cable services to other words, the very customers that the cable companies would be most reluctant to lose. As more people subscribe to satellite services, the hardware costs will come down, and that, Campbell notes, will start to give them some price advantage. That could cause even more cable customers to jump ship. As for the big threat to the cable companies is yet to come. In a few years, the telephone companies are joined to begin of fewer television services. For cable companies used to being monopoly providers, help is on the way.

WARREN CRAWFORD in Ottawa



TV FROM THE HEAVENS

A sampling of the services that satellites will soon beam down to Canadians:

Homestar (79 channels)

- WFLG, ABC's Miami affiliate
- WUSA, CBS's Washington station
- KTVU, Fox's San Francisco station
- CNBC, the U.S. all-business news network
- KTLA, Los Angeles' long-running station with 34 hours of coverage a week, plus hockey's Kings and baseball's Dodgers and Angels
- Four movie networks: Movie Max, MovieFlix, and TMM in English, Super Screen in French
- 16 English pay-per-view channels, eight French pay-per-view channels

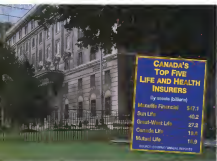
ExpressVu (133 channels)

- WEEK, Boston-based station affiliated with the new United Paramount Network, home of *Star Trek: Voyager*; also covers today's Bruins, baseball's Red Sox and baseball's Orioles
- HGTV, Chicago superstation affiliated with Warner Bros.; also features both Chicago baseball teams, the Cubs and White Sox, and baseball's MLB network
- BCT, Black Entertainment TV network
- Viewer's Choice and Movie Theatre movie channels, plus a French pay-per-view movie service
- 22 digital, commercial-free music channels, including country music and heavy metal channels

Power DirectTV (40 channels)

- KPRV, Denver's public broadcasting station
- WFLX, CBS affiliate in Raleigh, N.C.
- WTTX, Atlanta station owned by Ted Turner, with coverage of baseball's Braves and baseball's Braves
- Five movie networks, Movie Max, MovieFlix, Super Channel and TMM in English, Super Screen in French
- 70 pay-per-view channels

Business NOTES



Manulife's head office in Toronto: size is going to be imperative in complete

Merger creates insurance giant

Canada's largest life insurance company came into being last week out of the merger of Manulife Financial Insurance Co. and North American Life Assurance Co., a union that reflects the trend towards consolidation in the financial services industry. Can-based, the two Toronto-based companies will have total assets of \$47.1 billion—slightly ahead of Toronto-based rival Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada at \$40.2 billion. The merged companies will operate under the name Manulife Financial. Said Thomas D'Amico, who will continue as Manulife chief executive officer: "To compete effectively and offer customers the service they need, size is going to be imperative." The new company will have 10 per cent of the Canadian market and a total of 134 million policyholders in North America. North American Life, with assets of \$6.1 billion, had been troubled in the past three years by hard estate loans, and had pulled out of some lines of business, including the trust industry. D'Amico said the merger would inevitably lead to layoffs in the two companies' combined workforce of 6,000, but declined to be specific. Both insurers have deep roots in Canada. Sir John A. Macdonald, the first prime minister, was

Manulife's first president, while Alexander Macnair, the country's second prime minister, was North America's first president.

Petrocan sell-off

Petro-Canada's 20-year history as a government-controlled company ended Sept. 6 when Ottawa announced the terms of sale for a 50-percent stake in the Crown corporation. Within hours, private investors, including a host of Canadian pension plans and foreign purchasers, offered to buy every share available, and more. The sale, which will raise about \$1.8 billion, leaves the federal government with only 20 per cent of what was the largest Canadian-owned integrated oil and gas company. Senior oil and gas analyst Peter Laidler, with Research Canada Corp. in Calgary, says investors were clearly not put off by a Q2 (Q3) fall in the price of a barrel of oil over the past year to \$10 a barrel. Laidler adds that investors think the company's performance will improve after the government gives up control. They believe, he says, "that in the past the company has made investment decisions that were supposed to be good for the country, not necessarily the company."

JOB GAINS IN AUGUST

Twenty-eight thousand jobs were created in August, according to Statistics Canada. The job growth, which was somewhat stronger than expected, lowered the unemployment rate to 9.6 per cent, from 9.8 per cent in July. British Columbia, with an unemployment rate of 8.7 per cent, was the biggest job gainer, adding 12,000 new positions.

AD INVESTIGATION

The FBI launched an investigation into New York City fashion designer Calvin Klein's latest advertising campaign featuring young models in sexually provocative situations. If any models are under 18, child pornography laws might apply.

CAMBIOR PAYOFF

The Guatemalan government stopped Cambior Inc.'s Osmo gold mine from compensating fishermen who were out of work for 15 days in August after the mine spilled cyanide into a river. The government complained that the Montreal-based company made about 60 fishermen waive their right to further compensation before it paid them \$100 each.

BACK ON THE STREET

Michael Wilson, former Conservative finance minister, returned to Bay Street as vice-chairman of RBC Dominion Securities Ltd. Wilson had been executive vice-president of the investment dealer before he entered politics in 1979.

A GRACEFUL EXIT

Finance and author Christopher Ondaatje sold his 30.2-per-cent stake in Toronto-based merchant bank Ondaatje Corp. for \$45.5 million to Physicians Insurance Co. of Ohio. Ondaatje, an immigrant from Sri Lanka who began his financial career as a clerk in a stockbrokerage, also resigned from the board and is reported to be considering a move to Europe.

ANDERSON WINS HOME

Anderson Exploration Ltd. of Calgary won control of home Dn Co. Ltd., also Calgary-based, after a two-month bidding war with Amoco Petroleum Co. Ltd. The \$12-billion takeover makes Anderson Canada's sub-largest oil and gas firm in production, and eighth largest in reserves.

BOSSSES GET RAISES

While unionized workers averaged a 1.3-per-cent wage increase in 1989-1990, Canada's chief executives enjoyed an average hike of 10.6 per cent, according to a survey compiled by consultant Ernst & Young. The survey was conducted by Peter Warwick Thomas of Toronto.

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Maclean's
The National Magazine



From two solitudes to twin lassitudes

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

There was a time, not so long ago, when Hugh MacLennan's adoption of Blake's romantic epiphany about "two solitudes" adequately described the bicultural dualism that characterized French-English relations in this country.

Yet this autumn, when Quebec has never been closer to realising its dream of nationhood, and the disintegration of Canada looms as a distinct possibility, English-Canadians seem to have lapsed from solitude into lassitude. For many professional and intellectual professionals and the old Canadian patriots (a breed as rare as witch doctors in modern African documentaries), few Canadians east of Montreal and west of Hall seem to care what happens in their country.

We stand in danger of becoming the only nation in world history to break up by indifference. The possibility exists that what we're not doing could cost us our country.

It's proving to be so difficult to rally Canadians in a nation-wrong mood because there have been too many lake storms. Confederation was supposed to have cooled in when René Lévesque called the referendum in 1980, a decade later, the sea was never supposed to rise again if Meek Lake (Lake St. Lawrence) and two years after that, he'll was going to freeze over if Canadians voted to reject the Chabotian accord.

While there is no way of knowing whether this time the results will be different, on each of these previous occasions there were passionate voices raised to make the case for a continued partnership between French and English Canada. Now, there is only a murmur—except in Quebec, where Jacques Parizeau, Lucien Bouchard and Mario Dumont are passionately dedicated to fighting this country of their own creation.

I still firmly believe that the separatists will lose their struggle to destroy Canada, but I can't help but welcome the entry to which their cause is looted by a reluctant force of

Few Canadians seem to care what happens to their country. We may be the only nation that breaks up through inadvertence.

politics and a sure sense of place. Since most English-Canadians have no personal framework within which to fit or even understand that kind of impulse for self-determination, they tend to interpret each policy declaration from the Parti Québécois or Bloc Québécois as the last breath of revolution.

What little dialogue exists between the two Canadas (one becomes not, "How do we get to the lake or even tolerate one another better?" but, "What cash value should we place on staying together? How could we be to each other within a continuing Canadian alliance?")

For starters, English-Canadian must give up the city action that the status quo remains viable. It does not, and we mustn't keep pretending that it does. At the same time, moderate Quebecers must begin to realize that their historical notion of Canada as a marriage of convenience between two distinct nations is dead; it was over when the declaration of sovereignty read last week at the PQ's plea claims that Quebec entered the 1867 Confederation pact "on a promise of equality...preluding to the world the alliance between two founding peoples."

It's a cozy romantic interpretation of what

really happened, but when Toronto, which is the capital of non-French Canada, is populated by less than 40 per cent of what used to be called "Anglo," you know there's a new country out there. Those perching-eating, gold-plated comedians with Scottish accents and mid-Atlantic accents aren't in charge any more. That doesn't make so-called English Canada any less interesting or less worthwhile—the country—but it does mean that there's a new reality in play, which most Quebecers have so far ignored.

What they've not taken into account is that this new power equation has roots, just as strange if not as deep, in its society as French-Canadians have in theirs. Ministers Bouchard and Parizeau are intelligent and aware ambassadors for their cause, but they are also political animals, and some of their revolutionary ideas are strictly *Lévesque Times*. Their basic tactical and strategic error is to believe that Canadians outside Quebec will accept the splitting of Canada if their country with no opposition.

It's not going to happen. In this modern age, you don't need too many people at the barricades to make the point to the world (especially the international currency traders) that Quebec's future as an independent state will not be financed by a Canada dependent of its historic roots and neo-neo-neo geography.

Canadian love their country as much as Bouchard and Parizeau love their would-be republic. Quebec independence will not be achieved without a horrendously traumatic period of adjustment. The most likely victims of that transition—at least in terms of lower living standards—would be citizens of the new Quebec, including the 150 voters who imagine that sovereignty will resolve the economic problems it will instead exacerbate.

The leopard of Parizeau's sovereignty ideas finds room in the final paragraph of the proposed new constitution's preamble. "We the people of Quebec," begins the document, "through the voice of our national assembly proclaim Quebec is a sovereign country."

That's a direct shot at the negative-option marketing plan and earlier this year by Rogers Communications Ltd., when the company tried to force its viewers to pay for new Canadian specialty channels without having any say in the matter. Instead of allowing Quebec's citizens to decide openly in the upcoming referendum whether they support separation, the PQ leader is pre-empting Quebec's right to declare sovereignty. Only as something of an afterthought will voters be allowed to express their feelings on the matter.

The notion of a separate Quebec forming any kind of partnership with English-Canada, which would be signified by a vote, is too absurd to contemplate. If Quebecers decide in a democratically held referendum to leave the country that has nurtured their culture and language for 123 years, that is their privilege. But they mustn't ask us to be their partners in crime.



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PEOPLE

COUNTRY'S REAL McCoy

Country musicians often have reputations as mellowing, down-home kind of folk. They throw parties for their fans and record songs in collaboration with their competitors. And, says singer Travis McCoy, that's just the way it should be. "Each time one of us, or another who gets a song out there, and people listen and like it, that's positive," says McCoy, 28, who is nominated for the Rising Star Award at this week's Canadian Coun-



try Music Association Awards in Toronto. The nomination follows a busy year for the native of Burnaby, B.C. Not only has he caught the attention of the music critics—who call him one of Canada's most talented new country artists, alongside million-selling performers such as Shania Twain and Chastity Major—but McCoy has also attracted a popular following. The first single from his self-titled debut album, *This Used to Be Our Town*, was No. 1 on the Canadian country music charts for three weeks ending in August. "It's a great feeling to be on the charts and selling records, but you have to look beyond that," McCoy says with a laugh. "I tell you, if I could go for it, I hope it's good for you, too. And vice versa."

McCoy attracting a following

IN OPERA'S UPPER ECHELONS

Two Canadians were right at the thick of things when the prestigious Paris Opera opened its 1995-1996 season last week. Director Robert Lepage and designer Michael Levine have pooled their talents on Verdi's 1858 opera, *Achille*. Stage 10 presents a formidable challenge. In the Paris production, which features six very different sets, Lepage has hired Julia Vandy and Suzanne Penney are joined onstage by 136 members of the chorus and 30 extras, who among them wear 450 costumes. And because of the way the opera season is scheduled, there is much less time for dress re-

hearsals than is normal at other houses of theatre. So even though Caron, 41, and Lepage, 35, both originally from Toronto, began working on the project nearly two years ago, it all came together in just days before the Sept. 3 opening. "You get just one night to decide if something works, and make quick decisions on how to fix it if it doesn't," says Levine, who has worked with Caron before, most notably on the Canadian Opera Company's 1989 world premiere of *Man and the Apes*. Caron, who they were drilled to be working in Paris. "It is the best-equipped opera house in the world," says Caron.



Lepage, Levine: "All I did was show up"

STAYING POWER

When he broke major-league baseball's all-time endurance record last week, *Cal Ripken Jr.* triumphed up a season for the sport despite everyone's prior to forget. The Baltimore Oriole's all-star shortstop played in his 2,537th straight game on Sept. 6, thereby edging a record set in 1959 by Hall of Famer Lou Gehrig. For a change, the big story in baseball was an off-field schism, and not the somewhat labor dispute that forced the cancellation of last year's World Series, abbreviated the current season and drastically reduced attendance at many ball parks. And at a sports world renowned for its spalled collection, Ripken, 35, is a player whose character many of his followers say is truly worthy of praise. Even after being cheered so by the likes of U.S. President Bill Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore, who attended the game in Baltimore, and by a 22-mile drive from the home-town of his wife's wedding through the town's wedding contest, Ripken remained his usual modest self. "All I did," he said, "was show up every day and do something I enjoy." Baseball and its fans are glad he did.

AN APPETITE FOR WRITERS

Biographers, especially academics, often take a detached view of their subjects. But Rosemary Sullivan, an English professor at the University of Toronto, has taken a different approach in writing her latest book, *Shirley Miller: about the life of poet Gwendolyn MacEwen*. Sullivan and MacEwen were friends for five years before MacEwen died mysteriously in 1967 at age 46. But rather than complicating her task, Sullivan says that knowing MacEwen gave her an advantage over biographers who have never met their subject. "Most writers traditionally have to reconstruct their subjects through written documents and interviewing people who knew them," she explains. "I had a clear idea about the person I was writing about." Sullivan's 2002 biography, *By Heart*, profiled nov-



Sullivan: "I had a clear idea about the person I was writing about"

el Elizabeth Smart, another Canadian writer who, like MacEwen, had a troubled personal life. But Sullivan says she would not have written otherwise had the women been merely self-destructive. "They were both brilliant writers, and they both had large appetites for life," she adds. Sullivan, 45, seems, like her subjects larger than life.

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

EDUCATION

The battle at UBC

A controversial vote heightens campus tensions

The topic of discussion, in the words of the woman who called the meeting, was "the political science of the day" at the University of British Columbia. For two hours last week, one of the nation's MacEwen and 250 faculty profs were tenuously debating a controversial decision by UBC President David Strangway to suspend admissions to the graduate department in political science. Strangway's

move, announced last June, had come in the wake of the so-called MacEwen Report, which had found "a pervasive racism and sexism" in the department. Although strictly academic, last week's vote—4 to 1 in favor of progressing admissions—clearly heightened on-campus tensions. In an interview with *Maclean's*, Strangway, an advocate with MacEwen, "It is not the role of the faculty to determine when conditions are suitable for reopening the department." But others repeated what she said: the greatest injustice was the report itself, written by Vancouver lawyer John MacEwen after a 16-month investigation. Said political science professor Philip Kenrick, "There were problems in our department but only a few would deny that the MacEwen report is a serious miscarriage of justice."

Indeed, although issues of sexual and moral harassment are at the center of the debate, MacEwen and others maintain that the fundamental principle at stake is one of political fairness. However, say some of the dissenters—including professors hugging and kissing students—MacEwen contends that they remain appropriate, and that the 624,000 investigation ignored fundamental academic freedom. "MacEwen's claim that anyone has a right to complain, and expect redress, if a professor acts in a sexist channel or makes inappropriate sexual comments. But although MacEwen heard dozens of objections, the dean points out that those were overruled. "She seemed to feel that if you put all the accusations together, there must be guilt. I'm sorry that doesn't follow."

Others on campus are clearly displeased at MacEwen's conclusion—noting that as the chairman that assigned MacEwen to lead the inquiry was the son of a prominent academic. "The inquiry was not set up to deter-

mine students who had suffered for an external inquiry, claiming that less formal complaints of a so-called daily climate were not being seriously addressed. "It has not traditionally been an activist—I have never belonged to a feminist group," says Rice. "But when I saw the backlash developing against the MacEwen report, I knew those of us who had complained in the first place were going to be discredited." Adds Rice: "It was starting to feel like a show trial that had failed." The UBC president is clearly disturbed by that situation. "The real debate has become obscured," says Strangway. "That debate is about academic freedom—including the freedom of students who want to function in a contentious and less well-served environment." But with the MacEwen report under such intense fire, Rice, for one, says that any attempts to ask the department to address its problems are now being portrayed as arrogant and unaccountable—and, as a result, are being effectively ignored. She referred in particular to a letter, leaked to the press last week, that had blamed one part of an academic exchange among disgraced students. "We were making ourselves a target of questions that if we had been appropriate in seeking an apology for what has gone on in the department, or if it might be reasonable to insist that professors provide much-needed copies of reference letters," says Rice. "Suddenly, we were being portrayed as a bunch of bullies."

And while Strangway called some of their decisions "crazy," he expressed concern that the students were being pilloried before their positions had been openly and fairly debated on campus. But as the weeks of what she describes as "a summer of academic deliberation," MacEwen believes that the lines of discussion are more open than ever. "The students' voices are being heard," she says. "And we are going to move them seriously." Such sentiments are



MacEwen: Striding complaints of racism and sexism

old conflict in students who believe that the faculty tried to vote away the problems in the political science department last week. "They are trying to act as the gatekeepers," says Rice, "trying, in effect, that nobody would look into this any further." Still, if they cut across on both sides, Strangway and MacEwen are both adamant that substantive change lies ahead. Three separate reports, notes the president, are now being prepared to address the issues raised by MacEwen. Each is to be presented to the senate on Sept. 10. With those reports, UBC may begin to resolve the complex issues surrounding academic freedom, discrimination and justice.

VICTOR DAVEN

Backpack

Why indoor rock climbing is the height of fashion

REACH FOR THE TOP

BY SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER

After a year and a half as a partner in a Vancouver bar firm, Jackie Levesque is climbing walls. But not at the office. Twice three times a week, the 37-year-old lawyer leads a local climbing gym, straps on a harness, pushes rope and scramble up 30-foot-high walls. For months, Levesque had declined friends' invitations to try the sport because she had always been afraid of heights. But two years ago, she finally agreed to attempt an easy climb at a popular climbing area in Squish, 50 km north of Vancouver. "I got halfway up and I was terrified," she recalls. "But I liked it enough, so I continued climbing. I got nervous about it the minute I started." Levesque soon joined an indoor rock climbing gym. Now, she spends most of her spare time scaling artificial walls and grasping across steeply angled overhangs, testing her agility higher and higher. Says Levesque: "The feeling of accomplishment when you have successfully completed a climb is very fulfilling."

Levesque is one of a rising number of Canadians who are discover-

ing the thrills of an effort new sport. "Indoor rock climbing is definitely growing everywhere," says Kevin Hibel, an administrator at the non-profit Alpine Club of Canada in Canmore, Alta. Sport climbing—which differs from mountaineering in its emphasis on physical challenge—originated in Europe more than a decade ago, but only got all the ground at North America in the late 1980s. Five years ago, there were only one or two commercial gyms in Canada. Now, there are more 30, as well as hundreds of artificial walls in schools, recreation centres, fitness clubs and even private homes across the country. Age does not appear to be a barrier. "We have introduced the sport to people in their 60s," says Ed Fletcher, co-owner of The Edge Climbing Centre in Vancouver.

On one recent Sunday afternoon, Johanna Husebolder-Pedon took her daughter, seven-year-old Carmen, to Joe Rockhead's Climbing Gym in central Toronto. "It's safer than climbing trees," Pedon told, craning her neck as she watched her daughter and a playmate, six-year-old Niko Van Block, work their way up the wall for their first time.

For most climbers, indoor gyms offer a way to train in the winter

and on rainy days. "They can't get to the crags," says Hibel, "so they go to the gym down the block." But the gym is also attracting a lot of people who would never dream of leaving their skills on a real cliff. Some climb to keep fit. "For people who like a physical challenge," says Hibel, "it's more fun than running in circles on a track." Many others are looking to indoor climbing as an inexpensive and novel alternative for children's parties and even stay nights. "It's an adventure," says Fletcher. "People can test their skills, they can push their limits." Few indoor training walls are higher than 30 feet. But, as a novice, that may still appear as daunting as Everest. "It is not a sport for people who think bouldering is an adventure sport," says Hibel. But he emphasizes that—as long as climbers take proper precautions—it is not as dangerous as it may look. "It's a kind of like a big monkey bar," he adds. Still, any sport in which participants must first sign a waiver deserves to be taken seriously. "You have to be focused all the time," says Fletcher. "One mistake—even though the sport has become very safe—could cost somebody their life." On the other hand, Fletcher maintains that rock climbing, indoors or out, is much safer than driving a car. "On a busy week in the worst, people take hundreds of falls and they get hurt really badly in a rope."

There is more than one way to get to the top. The easiest is "top roping," which requires a trained, responsible partner, or "belayer." The climber leads one end of a rope to a "pit" harness that wraps around the waist and thighs. The other

ROPE TRICKS

Like surfers, climbers use their own special jargon to talk about their sport. Some of their favorite expressions:

Putting the plastic: Indoor wall climbing.

Tying into the shug and: Graduating from top roping, in which the climber's rope hangs from an anchor at the top of the wall, to the more advanced lead climbing, in which the climber attaches the rope to wall anchors.

Redpit: Climbing a wall without falling on the first try.

Flashpit: A personal accomplishment—climbing a difficult route without falling, after one or more unsuccessful attempts.

Beta: Tips, clues or any other information on how to climb a difficult route.

Onsight: The best kind of flash—bottom to top without falling, on the first try, without the benefit of beta.

Buckles: A very large heelhook, or rock outcropping. Also known as a jug.

Dinner plate: A relatively flat hold.

Downclimbing: A useful skill—reversing the move on a climb that proves too difficult.

Hangpopping: Dangling from a rope after a fall.

Softened climbing shoes: Flexibility is key

end of the rope—which hangs from anchors at the top of the wall—is controlled by the belayer. The climber, wearing special soft-soled shoes, ascends the wall by grasping and stepping on a series of artificial rock holds or "cracks." Meanwhile, the belayer stands ready to trigger a braking device in the event of a fall.

"Lead climbing" is a more advanced, and riskier, technique. In "leading," a climber carries a rope up the wall, attaching it with special clips—known as quickdraws—at anchor points at regular intervals on the ascent. Ambitious climbers who want to build endurance practice a maneuver known as bouldering—a series of short, strenuous moves performed at difficult angles, without the benefit of a rope but

no more than four metres above the floor. Indoor bouldering routes are marked with the letters "A" through "E." The idea is to climb until you fall," explains Fletcher. "It is the only way to get better."

Like six rest, climbing routes are graded according to their level of difficulty. A standard system used throughout North America rates them from 5.0 (relatively easy) to 5.14 and higher (for experts only). Artificial mountains may lack the grandeur of their natural counterparts but they offer a true taste of bouldering. Indoor climbing, constructed from a variety of materials, is a safe and varied sport and a variety of climbing experiences, from straight verticals to precariously angled overhangs, into a relatively small space. Because the walls are inflated with thousands of balloons, the holds can easily be moved around to suit different climbers.

Climbing is a matter of strength, technique and concentration. "Climbing up a wall is not a matter of coasting down," says Fletcher. "It's a matter of moving your body up efficiently. Body position is extremely important." Beginners are taught to keep their weight over their feet and to push with their legs rather than pull with their arms. It is also important to relax, experts say, and not to grip the holds too tightly. The sport involves most of the muscles in the body, particularly the legs, fingers and forearms. But the emphasis on upper-body strength does not appear to deter women, who are turning up at climbing gyms in often as many. "Some of the best climbers are women," says Brenda Rogers, co-owner of Shipton's, a B.C. wilderness climbing company. "It has more to do with balance and finesse than with strength." It also demands concentration and patience. Says Jim Sandford, a B.C. climber who plans to compete in a World Cup this fall: "The most important muscle in your brain."

Most climbers see the sport as a way of challenging themselves. "The thing I really like about it," says Levesque, "is that you compete with yourself." But the popularity of competition climbing is rising. A number of Canadians, including newcomers, are starting to make a mark in organized indoor climbing competitions. In a recent competition—one of all 40 scheduled across North America this year—a 16-year-old Vancouver girl took the women's open championship. "The kids are taking over the scene," says Scott Fidler, a co-ordinator for Canada's National Sport Climbing Association, who has high hopes that this new sport will eventually become an Olympic event.

But some of the fiercest competition is between outdoor climbing and its indoor counterpart. Bouldering permits access that there is no sense of achievement in climbing artificial walls. "It's like riding a bike in a gym," says Rogers. He argues that indoor climbing can't learn how to deal with weather changes, falling rocks and crumbling surfaces. "It is very different in the wilderness," says Rogers. "Some people take skills from indoors and they get into trouble."

Indeed, that tension between the two is growing. "I don't think," says Fletcher, "if you wanted to do a hard climb," Fletcher says, "you had to do your own job and go live in a tent near crags for a few years. Now people can train in an indoor centre a few times a week and become really good climbers." Fletcher, he adds, "We're not trying to compete with nature." And there is no arguing one point: Indoor walls have made climbing accessible to a wider range of people than ever before. Who has hundreds of kilometres from the nearest rock face. □

Illustration: © Bruce Dwyer

Climber at The Edge in Vancouver: about nine feet

Feet of the trade: safety



THE FORMULA FOR BLISS?

The serene hangout on Toronto's Centre Island is filled with hundreds of young revelers sporting colorful beanie hats and beanie, secondhand clothes. It is a Saturday night "rave," a 1990s-style costume party where students and Generation Xers pay an entrance fee and dance (tomorrow night) down "73 be here until tomorrow morning," says Matthews, whose jerky, rambolic moves are much to break dancing. "I can't turn my body off."

The thrashing bass line of the euphoric "techno" music blasting through the hangar is not the only factor contributing to Matthews' high energy state. About an hour earlier, he gulped down a shot of a concoction called "Herbal Ecstasy"—a legal stimulant whose popularity is causing concern among federal health officials. The dark liquid is one of several herbal compounds that, according to their promoters, mimic the effects of Ecstasy, a type of amphetamine that is now the designer drug of choice in many North American cities.

The herbal concoctions generally come in tablet form and sell for \$10 per dose. Packaged in artfully designed boxes with names like "Herbal Bliss" and "Cloud 5," they are sold at rare parties, outdoor shops and other youth-oriented venues—and are now being

Herbal drugs make their nightclub debut



recently conducting a study at Ecstasy approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, say there is no evidence that it causes permanent damage. The herbal variety, on the other hand, stimulates the nervous system and blood flow. And while it is not approved for sale as a drug in Canada or the United States, possession is not a crime, and those who use it report no toxic side effects. "It's not like synthetic Ecstasy at all," says Black. "You don't get that super-heated high, but you feel happy. It's more like a body run."

Black adds that he has taken Herbal Bliss in conjunction with marijuana, and, on occasion, with hallucinogenic mushrooms. "It's great," she says. "We can't keep the stuff on the shelves." But some other users gave the compound a negative review. Last month, one Toronto woman who tried Herbal Ecstasy said that the substance was a "hoax." "All it did for me was keep me up all night and give me daz-

zies," said the 30-year-old property manager, who tried the tablet along with her soulmate's boyfriend.

That is not surprising, says Brian Froese, the 36-year-old entrepreneur and self-styled chemist who developed Herbal Bliss. "As with any herb, there are different mental focuses and methodologies which make this ineffective on some people," Froese said in a telephone interview from his job in Pittsburgh. He describes his product as "a mood elevator" that creates a high that lasts about five hours. Herbal Bliss is sold in 300 stores in North America, about 50 of them in Canada. And although it has not been approved as a drug in other countries, Froese insists that it is safe, claiming that he developed it under the guidance of friends who are chemists and pharmacists, as well as a Russian doctor who specializes in herbs. "I tested it by giving it to athletes who were looking for something to boost their endurance," says Froese. "They loved it, and I realized there was a wider market."

But officials at Health Canada, the federal department that monitors the safety of foods and drugs, are warning consumers not to use Herbal Bliss and its congeners. "They're promoted as safe because they're natural, and that's a fallacy," says Michelle Ho, chief of Health Canada's product regulation division. "You're looking at a product that has absolutely no controls. The pills typically contain herbs such as ginseng and ginseng, both of which are strong stimulants, but the idea that another consumer ingredient, the herb Ma Huang, contains high levels of ephedrine, a drug used in nasal decongestants that can cause dizziness, nausea and vomiting. He adds that Tishkjian, an ingredient in Herbal Ecstasy, is a sexual stimulant that is sometimes prescribed to people with sexual disorders. Still, her department is not investigating the various herbal remedies because it has received no complaints about them.

Police, meanwhile, seem to be preoccupied with bigger problems. In a review by Montreal's two senior detectives with the cocaine and heroin units of the Metro Toronto Police expressed little concern about the appearance of "Herbal Ecstasy" as it is known on the street. "Let me know if it's any good," joked one undercover investigator. "It might be better than drinking—cheaper." Back in the serene hangout, the revelers have no doubts about that—whether or the possible health effects.

PATRICIA KAMRAN

TOSHIBA TOPS SERVICE-RELIABILITY SURVEY

ONE TOUGH COMPETITION

PC Magazine's Reader's Choice awards are based on readers' satisfaction ratings for overall system reliability, repairs and technical support. This year, things got a little tougher. For the first time, readers were also asked how many times their PCs needed repairs during the last 12 months of use. That one took most notebooks out of the running, but it put Toshiba right over the top.



ONE TOUGH NOTEBOOK ...

Toshiba won by scoring significantly above average in each of the four categories measured in the reader survey. And there's more: We also received top marks when readers rated their likelihood at buying another computer from the same vendor. (This question wasn't used in the final awards. But if you scored 5 out of 4, as you report above, wouldn't you tell the world?)

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LIFE AND TIMES

Backpack

CALENDAR

Indoor bike races and outdoor blues—the fall season gets rolling in high gear

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Sept. 29-Oct. 15 The Vancouver International Film Festival. The 34th annual version offers more than 600 screenings of 250 films from 38 countries. Significant themes will include Dragons and Tigers: The Cinema of East Asia, the largest program of Far Eastern movies in the western hemisphere, and the Centenary of Cinema Celebration, marking the 100th anniversary of public film exhibition.

Oct. 6 The Hong Kong Philharmonic, Gishwara Theatre, Vancouver. The colony's leading orchestra makes its North American debut, accompanied by British conductor David Atkinson and pianist Edith Chen. The program includes Bach's *Symphonie No. 3*, Beethoven's *Piano Sonata No. 3*, and Prokofiev's *Piano Concerto No. 3*.

ALBERTA

Sept. 29-Oct. 1 White Oak Dance Project, Northern Alberta Jubilee Auditorium, Edmonton. A program of modern dance by Mikhail Baryshnikov and nine other dancers, with a repertory group of four musicians.

Sept. 21-28 Season Premiere, Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra, Jack Singer Concert Hall, Hays Graf. A major music director by conductor's 40th anniversary season and acclaimed American violinist Joshua Bell performs Shostakovich's *Violin Concerto*. The program also includes Bernstein's *Concerto and Beethoven's Symphony No. 7*.

SASKATCHEWAN

Oct. 2-8 Chokocherry Festival, Lancer. An annual event celebrating locally made chokocherry syrup and wine. Activities include a homebrew tournament and goose shoot.

MANITOBA

Oct. 12-14 Spotlight on Kyles,

Centennial Concert Hall, Winnipeg. The Royal Winnipeg Ballet performs two pieces by the celebrated Dutch choreographer Jiri Kylian, *Soul-gone* and *Musque*. The program also includes the world premiere of acoustic director William Whiteaker's *Cloud of Witness*.

Heading south

Southeast migration by humans as well as birds and insects is as much a Canadian tradition as hockey and maple syrup. More than half of the almost 600 species of birds that breed in Canada head south for the winter, mostly to the tropics. The annual migration begins in earnest in September, with most birds—such as the Maritime songbirds that fly the Atlantic straight to South America—already heading due south from their summertime nesting grounds. Waterfowl, by contrast, have well-defined flyways that take them along their routes where they can find food. And all of them tend to congregate in the north shores of major lakes, where they can rest and feed before crossing.

As a result, there are numerous places across Canada suitable for viewing large numbers of migrants, an increasingly popular activity. The head of the Bay of Fundy—far many species the last landing with large fowl reserves—is one, as is the entire St. Lawrence River in British Columbia, the Red Sea, and south of Vancouver, where it winds through the fjords. For geese and ducks, the most popular migration spot is the Plover in the Oak Harbour wetlands in Ontario. And several spots of land jutting into the Great Lakes are vital for migrants, especially Grand Pelee in Lake Erie and the Presqu'île peninsula on Lake Ontario.

Pelee and Presqu'île are also prime locations to witness countless thousands of the world's best-known migrant migrant, the striped-necked butterfly. Every monarch born east of the Rocky Mountains winters in one of a half-dozen remote mountain valleys in central Mexico. For some, a journey of almost 2,000 km. The first of these wintering sites, whose populations of monarchs number perhaps 100 million, was discovered only in 1924 by University of Toronto biologist Frederic Urquhart. Until their human counterparts, the 100,000 Canadians who head south every year, monarchs have used the flocks to approach to prefer a more leisurely approach to life. They winter south only as far as California.



MONARCH BUTTERFLY: JEFF HARRISON

MONARCH BUTTERFLY: JEFF HARRISON

Represented Events & before completion

ONTARIO

Sept. 15-Oct. 29 Fall Feeding Program, Upper Canada Museum, Grand Falls. Roughly 1,000 seabirds wintered, primarily Canada geese, land daily for their 230 km. corn-cob feeding at the provincially run sanctuary, 15 km west of Cornwall.

Sept. 24-Oct. 7 Comedy Slam '95, Toronto. The seventh edition of one of North America's largest comedy festivals brings 70 performers to venues across the city. Headliners include Bobcat Goldthwait, Margaret Cho, and Rick Gervais in his first Toronto appearance in more than two decades.

Sept. 30, Oct. 2, 6, 12, 19 *Amadeus* at Nana, O'Keefe Centre, Toronto. The Canadian Opera Company pre-

miere of Opera's first production of Umberto Giordano's modern work. In Italian with French and English subtitles.

Sept. 28-Oct. 1 Antonio Brown, New York. The North Shore symphony's 30th annual celebration of the season. Includes artists, musicians and numerous outdoor events.

Sept. 22 Supercorcoran, Olympic Stadium, Montreal. The best international talent compete in the world's largest annual motorcycle event.

NEW BRUNSWICK

Sept. 12-17 Harvest Jazz and Blues Festival, Fredericton. A five-day celebration featuring a wide range of musical styles, from progressive jazz to outdoor performances of traditional acoustic blues.

NOVA SCOTIA

Oct. 7 Holes Craghlan Folklore Festival, Halifax. Music, song, dance, storytelling and crafts in honor of the early 19th-century colonial Maritime folk music, who travelled the region, often on foot, transcribing thousands of songs.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Oct. 2-8 Fields and Forests. Public Landscapes of Prince Edward Island, Confederation Centre Art Gallery and Museum, Charlottetown. An exhibition of more than 100 oil, watercolor and paper made by residents between 1800 and 1950.

NEWFOUNDLAND

Oct. 12-18 South Atlantic St. John's. The World's First and Video Festival, Long Shoreline's Productions Union Hall. An exhibition of recent works from Canada and abroad, written, directed or produced by women. The festival also includes a retrospective of 20 years of St. John's women's film.

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Oct. 6-8 Teloqat Music Festival. The tiny Boothia Peninsula community, 1,100 km northeast of Yellowknife, hosts a three-day celebration of Inuit music and dance, with performers from across the Arctic.

YUKON

To Oct. 14 Oct. 14th and Stone, Yukon Arts Centre, Whitehorse. An exhibition of 17 large canvases by northern artist Ana Christ, which explore the physical geography of the Yukon.

NEXT

A sampling of upcoming diversions

MOVIES

Get Sherry John Travolta plays a loan shark who goes Hollywood in a comedy based on Elmore Leonard's *Run*. **The North Shore** symphony's 30th annual celebration of the season. Includes artists, musicians and numerous outdoor events. **St. John's** The World's First and Video Festival, Long Shoreline's Productions Union Hall. An exhibition of recent works from Canada and abroad, written, directed or produced by women. **St. John's** The World's First and Video Festival, Long Shoreline's Productions Union Hall. An exhibition of recent works from Canada and abroad, written, directed or produced by women. **St. John's** The World's First and Video Festival, Long Shoreline's Productions Union Hall. An exhibition of recent works from Canada and abroad, written, directed or produced by women.

VIDEO

To Live Zhang Yimou's extraordinary account of a marriage against the backdrop of the Cultural Revolution. **Den** Joe DiMaggio Johnny Depp and Marion Brando are in a fight in an otherwise forgettable comedy. **The Wages of Fear** George Meli's *Wages of Fear*—a classic portrait of wiggled-out sanity. **Jefferson** in *Peter Nott* is a portrait in a weekly misadventure. **Mercenary** Ivory film. **Leslie** Leslie James Lang, and Halle Berry give strong performances in action drama.



LONG

BOOKS

The 66th of Death Confronting Canada's Tainted Blood. *Wendy Auld* (Penguin). A hard-hitting journal unveils the scandal that rocked Canada's blood-supply system. **The Bible of Texas** James Scurry. *Random House*. A novel of two men at odds and war and revolution, inspired by a mid-19th-century Texas tale. **The Bible of Texas** James Scurry. *Random House*. A novel of two men at odds and war and revolution, inspired by a mid-19th-century Texas tale. **The Bible of Texas** James Scurry. *Random House*. A novel of two men at odds and war and revolution, inspired by a mid-19th-century Texas tale. **The Bible of Texas** James Scurry. *Random House*. A novel of two men at odds and war and revolution, inspired by a mid-19th-century Texas tale.

AUDIO

Selections from Great Tenor Arias Ben Hegwer (JVC). The great Canadian tenor performs some of his favorites. **Punch Songs** Rita MacNeil (RCA). From the Cape Breton crooner, new songs of love and affection. **The Heavyweight Champion: The Complete Albums** Bruce Springsteen (Mercury). A seven-disc collection presented to a past god. **Memories of the South Beach Survivors** Ben is *Good* (Polygram). The Toronto radio host takes a trip in their fanbase. **Alannah** Alannah Mylen (Warner). The sultry singer takes once again to her rock world.

THE NATIONAL'S NEW FACE

Hana Gartner brings gutsy style to CBC TV

BY MARCI McDONALD

Hana Gartner was barreling across the most tormented episode of the CBC's Toronto headquarters, doing what she claims she does best—worrying. Even before her debut last week as host of the magazine hall of *The National*, the network's freshly rebranded nightly television news show was already fretting to a reporter about issuing what she calls her "overdeveloped sense of privacy." Then, suddenly, as she sped through the security hurdles, a CBC guard sweetly told her: "You need to rest." "Excuse me, ma'am," he said with no sign of recognition whatsoever. "Do you have a gun?"

For any other television star, it might have been a crushing blow to the ego. But for Gartner, 56, the incident was both oddly reassuring and a symbol of the challenge the new face at what has been called the toughest job in Canadian TV. While she may not yet qualify as a brand-new name, CBC brass are counting on her seasoned broadcast skills to restore calm and credibility to the tarnished news hour after their lurching public firing of her predecessor, Pamela Wallin, last March. In the process, they are gambling that Gartner's infectious energy and authenticity can lure viewers back to a show whose ratings have been languishing behind CTV's ever more their dominance since it took over the nation's nightly news hour, to 5 p.m. three years ago. Says CBC arts host Adrienne Clarkson: "Hana has an earthy, gutsy quality which that show desperately needs."

Even *The National*'s star anchor, Peter Mansbridge, whose relationship with Wallin became decidedly chilly, cautions about Gartner's on-screen chemistry—despite the fact that a less than provoked source crinkled his nose at his own expense. "The news is anybody who can reach out and grab you while you're watching the show," he says. Although she is billed as his co-anchor, the pair rarely appear together on screen. Instead, bracketed by his introductions and sign-offs, Gartner's *National Magazine* exists as a self-contained half-hour which she hosts from a small kitchen-situated table on the by-late of the glass-walled set.

Still, insiders make clear that she would never have been appointed without a nod from Mansbridge, whose former wife, Wendy Mesley, was among the contenders for the job. Indeed, as Mesley and others took turns at what were patiently on-air auditions last spring, the CBC appeared determined to prove that Wallin had not been done in by ousting. As one producer put it, requesting anonymity on the subject: "Basically, they were very, very anxious to show they had not returned Peter as a weapon."



Mesley went on to win a weekly public affairs series called *Undercurrents*. And former Newsworld anchor Alison Smith—reported to be Gartner's chief nemesis—has also been rewarded with her own show called *The Lead*. But in the most startling turn-about, Wallin herself returns to CBC, accused this week. Fresh from writing her legal standstill with the corporation, she has told Newsworld's nightly hour-long talk show produced by her own independent company and called *Pamela Wallin Live*. But it is not only the spectre of Wallin's return that haunts Gartner's new star turn. With the

displaying their photos or that of her husband, Bruce Griffin, a former film editor whom she met while working for the 5th estate. "I know what they look like," she says.

In fact, while other celebrities routinely profess to guarding their privacy, Gartner has turned that concern into high art. Despite 35 years on TV, she has never been interviewed and avoids the social circuit to avoid publicity. She once worried she was sabotaging her own career. "She doesn't schmooze," says her long-time friend Andy Byrne, the new host of the CBC morning radio show in Toronto. "For years, she worried that she was not doing the right thing. But in fact what she wound up doing was not making enemies." And, as Byrne points out, in the light of the recent intrigue surrounding Wallin's firing, that may have ultimately helped win her the co-anchor slot. "She was not part of my club," he says. "This was a person nothing much to."

For, as he notes, is Gartner's reluctance to work the cocktail circuit due to social ineptitude. With the wincing wit and baffling timing of a vaudevillian, she is as engagingly casual offscreen as on. Says Byrne, "She just can't bear it." In fact, to all but a handful of colleagues and friends, Gartner remains as little known as that former 5th estate host—despite having never worked directly with her—reconnected her "an on-airer, not a journalist. Basically, she's your average North York Jewish housewife who reads the script they hand her and then goes home to the suburbs." That accusation rings the door's former executive producer, Kelly Cochran, who dubs Gartner a "casual workaholic," notorious for researching every story to the point of exhaustion and staying up to write her own scripts in longhand overnight. "You best would be your mother," Cochran says. "She'd kill her herself."

Interviewing Ivan and Ailie Cherkis
apologetic energy and authenticity

restoration of *The National* to its old name and 10 p.m. time slot, some TV critics see a one-sided attempt to smother the network's bygone glories and the woman with whom Gartner is most frequently compared—the late Barbara Frum. In fact, at a time when CBC newscasters across the country are based for thousands of staff into and two separate studios are now being completed for Ottawa so the Crown corporation's prospects, a few analysts have gone as far as to suggest that the CBC's future could hinge on the success of the revamped flagship news.

Gartner herself waxes all such a notion. "My job is not to save Canada or the CBC," she says. Still, she is not unaware of the stakes at stake when, as *The National*'s executive producer Tony Burman puts it, "a black cloud of uncertainty is hanging over the CBC." Still, keeping into the unknown has never discouraged a broadcaster who once turned a troubling first-person account of purchasing into a hobby. "I like being nervous," Gartner gins. "I like standing on the ledge."

The changed, bewildered white office on the CBC's floor is their behind-the-scenes, as well as their current address—exactly as she wanted. And the few personal mementos that only casual professional colleagues—excluding one of her three German Awards. On the walls hang two watercolours, one each by her seven-year-old son, Gartner, known as Gie, and her daughter, five-year-old Susan. But she purposely avoids

displaying their photos or that of her husband, Bruce Griffin, a former film editor whom she met while working for the 5th estate. "I know what they look like," she says. In fact, while other celebrities routinely profess to guarding their privacy, Gartner has turned that concern into high art. Despite 35 years on TV, she has never been interviewed and avoids the social circuit to avoid publicity. She once worried she was sabotaging her own career. "She doesn't schmooze," says her long-time friend Andy Byrne, the new host of the CBC morning radio show in Toronto. "For years, she worried that she was not doing the right thing. But in fact what she wound up doing was not making enemies." And, as Byrne points out, in the light of the recent intrigue surrounding Wallin's firing, that may have ultimately helped win her the co-anchor slot. "She was not part of my club," he says. "This was a person nothing much to."

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New Gartner has the same worries about her new night grid. "I tend to work fast out," she says. "I can't pace myself." During her 13 years as one of the 5th estate's four co-hosts, she spent most of her life on the road. "I didn't go to the office, I went to the airport," she says. "My kids thought that's where I worked." Even when she was in town and wanted some peace to prepare for an interview, she resorted not to the CBC but to a private cubicle at the North York Public Library. There, she would block out her co-anchor's presence, which she refers to as "a kind of dingo-out to boot, there's a kind of energy and creative game." "I'm not sure," she chuckles at her new off-bound life in the network's headquarters, which she calls a "life of soulless content." And she can be heard now turning about "householdings" each line she is obliged to insert her passport into its entrance turnstile. But then, as Cochran observes, "Hana definitely marches to her own drum."

Basically, she shows that quirky edginess to a rock-solid childhood during which she felt like a hapless adult. "I'm always been an outsider," she says. Born in Prague, she came to Canada when she was two—the daughter of Czech Holocaust survivors who met after their liberation from Nazi camps at the end of the war. Flying to Austria, they made their way to



I've never seen anybody who can reach out and grab you while you're watching like she can'

Gertie: astronaut

the French part of LeBlanc, where they boarded a boat for Montreal to displaced persons—or DPs, as they were diplomatically known. George and Stella Gertie arrived in the suburb of Chocoma (now Lem), where the former lucky owner rose from sweeping a guttering plant floor to managing the operation.

But for his extraordinarily shy daughter, Canada remained an alienating place. Shy and polite, Hans never got over her localization at five when a teacher failed to respond to her urgent request for a trip to the washroom. From then on, Gertie hated school, even failing grade 11. "I thought I wasn't very smart," she confesses. Her younger brother, Gary, now an international law lawyer in New York City, was both a brilliant student and a social butterfly that she resented to the shelter of her adored family, a self-styled "ordinary chaboso" who immersed herself in the fantasy world of films. "I must have seen *The Philadelphia Story* 800 times," she recalls. Gertie was so reclusive

that her mother finally signed her up for a children's theatre workshop. And at 13, she blossomed on stage. She won the role of Blay in *Little Women* and had her heart set on going to Yale Drama School. But a postal strike held up her invitation to audition. Although her father drove at night through a blizzard to get her to Connecticut on time for the appointed date, she was so nervous when she clanked onstage that she broke out in hives. "Daddy was just weeping for me," she says.

Instead, she enrolled in the communications program at Montreal's Loyola College, now part of Concordia University. When one of her professors wanted her a chance to use the recording equipment at Montreal's CND radio station, she proved so adept that the station let her serve out her own quirky interview stint as Andy Barnett's fledgling show. When he asked her to do what she planned to do, "it was all exploded out of her that she'd always been curious about the guy who changed the light bulbs on the cross in Mount Royal," he recalls. "And she just took off from there."

Convinced that she wasn't a real reporter because she had never had a political beat, she moved to Ottawa to cover the 2004 election for the station's parent, Standard Broadcasting—and landed it. But in the middle of the campaign, she won a regular TV spot on the CBC's local Montreal sportsline show. In an age of sleek, televisual news, Gertie stood out as pleasantly plump, her pretty features obscured behind enormous horn-rimmed glasses. "It made me unique," she says. "I've spent my whole television career being overweight." No producer tried to tattle with that look as she moved on to the network as

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Second Prize: One Computer/Printer package. The Portable (off the package includes) 1 Compaq Contura 4100 portable computer with 486 DX2-66 processor, colour palette, 16MB screen, 350 MB hard drive. Full size keyboard and 1 Modem. \$300 also complete wireless telephone with long distance service, one touch dialing and 900 number, 1 memory location. Cellular telephone included on the registered list of winners. Approximate retail value: \$4,300.00.

Third Prize: One of 1000 Maclean's 90th Anniversary Commemorative Mugs. The Commemorative Mug. 3000 copies with the Maclean's 90th Anniversary Commemorative Mug. Approximate retail value: \$1.99.00.

Fourth Prize: One of 47 Maclean's 90th Anniversary Commemorative Mugs. Approximate retail value: \$1.99.00.

How to Enter

1. To enter, you must complete the Maclean's 90th Anniversary Contest Official Entry Form printed in this magazine. Include on the entry form the names of 5 of the images from the contest which is included in this magazine. Complete entries can be mailed to: 90th Anniversary Contest, Maclean's 90th Anniversary Contest, 700 Bloor Street East, Toronto, Ontario M4W 1A5.

2. Contest begins July 17, 1998 and ends October 31, 1998.

3. To be eligible, Official Entry Forms must be received in this office on or before October 31, 1998.

4. You may only enter once. No purchase necessary.

How to Win

1. On November 7, 1998, winning winners will be selected by random draw.

First Prize: The first winner selected will be eligible to win the Delta Hotels & Resorts Canadian Airlines trip for 2.

Second Prize: The second entry selected will be eligible to win the Computer/Printer package.

Third Prize: The third entry will be eligible to win the Maclean's 90th Anniversary Commemorative Mug.

Fourth Prize: The first 47 entries selected will be eligible to win 1 Maclean's 90th Anniversary Commemorative Mug.

2. Starting November 7, 1998, winners will be made to contact the winning winners starting with the First Prize winner at the telephone number in the Official Entry Form between 9 am and 5 pm to a period of 5 working days. If all eligible entries cannot be contacted within the allotted time, entries will no longer remain in play. The first selected entry in the sequence will now be eligible to win the available prize.

3. In order to be declared a winner, each winning winner must complete and sign a Release & Indemnity Form (see General Rules 6) and promptly return the form to the prize sponsor. If the winning winner is not contacted within a mutually convenient time within the telephone. There will be only one opportunity to answer the telephone call and winning winner. An eligible winner who provides an "out of play" answer will no longer be eligible to win a prize in this contest. The procedure outlined in points 1, 2 and 3 above will be followed until all prizes in this contest have been awarded.

4. The right of winning winner to the name of the Official Entry Form, however, One prize per person, household, company or organization.

General Rules

1. Contest is only open to residents of Canada who have reached the age of 18 years to accept employees and their immediate families of Maclean's Media Publishing Limited, Delta Hotels & Resorts, Canadian Airlines, International Ltd., Miller Stephen Products Co., News Products Limited and Computer Concepts Systems Inc. ("Sponsor") any of their operating divisions and participating partners and their interest in advertising and promotional agencies.

2. All entries become the property of the Sponsor and shall not be returned.

3. All decisions made by the contest judges will be final and shall not be subject to appeal.

4. No prize substitution will be made, except for the Sponsor's right to make prize substitutions of equivalent value in the event the prize is unavailable for reasons beyond the Sponsor's control. Prizes may not be transferred, assigned or redeemed for cash.

5. The Sponsor and their agents are not responsible for printing, distribution, product, lost forms and may terminate or substitute this contest without liability to those who have entered.

6. By entering this contest all entrants agree to the use of their name, address and photo in publicity purposes and/or inclusion in a Register, mailing list or to be used for direct mail purposes without compensation.

7. The sponsor will not be responsible for entries not mailed or delayed for any reason.

8. By entering each eligible winner agrees to sign a Release and Indemnity Form releasing the Sponsor, their affiliates and independent agents, its employees and promotional agencies from all liability in connection with the contest or prize awarded.

9. This contest is subject to all federal provincial and municipal laws. Contestants must comply with all applicable laws and regulations. The contest is not subject to the laws of any other jurisdiction.



Toronto, then starred the convicted heist apt on the after noon talk show. *Solo* 30.

But 13 years ago, when she joined the 5th estate, she left both her hair men and extra (pageant) behind, gradually transferring herself into the subtle stunner who can whip through an article doubleheader. Gartner says that she has never looked as good as she does now. Still, part of that late-blooming process did not come until the fourth season of the show, when she met Griffin, a red-headed film editor five years her junior. With a pilot's license and a sardonic as an amateur rock musician, he also had a serious ego.

In 1987, after a fast year on singing, off again, country, they married. And a year later, where she gave birth to their son, Griffin quit his job to play house husband while she pursued her career. "It's a dream we made if we had children, we didn't want to entrust them to third party," she says. "He gives me the power of need to go out and do what I do." Still, that juggling schedule has left her worked with grief. For Gartner, the turning point came last year when she was asked to be her daughter's nanny. "She looks up at me and she says, 'Mommy, are you going to stick around for her husband?'" Gartner recalls. "It was like a stab in the heart."

In fact, she claims that the chance to cut back on her travel schedule made the offer to take over the National Magazine all the more appealing. By the time it came along, she was already frustrated with the limits of the 9th issue. Three years earlier, she had launched a sporadic hour-long interview program in an attempt to showcase her strengths. Called *Contest with Marie Gartner*, it promptly made headlines with its first edition—an interview with Bruce and Bette Midler. Critics such as *The Globe* and *Mac's* *Book* section have castigated her for being "waspish," while this point out that her manner coaxed an extraordinary outburst from Midler. Gartner declared that he had been so moved by an attack on his daughter, Christine, by the national magazine *Real* that he had bravely considered getting a gun and hunting down the editor.

Gartner concedes that she has never been a confrontational interviewer. "She doesn't put people in corners, she draws them out," says Richard Majeed, senior producer for *Question*. "Better to let somebody else bang their heads," but so far, Gartner has had little opportunity to display those talents or her new show. After a heated documentary debate on the future of work, she has been left introducing other people's programs and getting Lucie Arnott on a studio scene. And, despite an overwhelmingly positive response, and promising ratings—with 300,000 in most viewers for the first show—the ball a million who keep on the same date last year—Gartner calls it "a work in progress." And that in turn leaves her scope to add her own stories. As she said, passing on the defeated we after a long last word, "That's what I do. I worry. And that's why I want to keep my adrenaline going for a long time."

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Thoroughly modern Misha

Misha. The name has become synonymous with godlike dancing and an equally Olympic romantic life. After his dramatic declaration from the Soviet Union in Toronto in 1974, Mikhail Baryshnikov kept to star status for millions of people who had never seen Gable or *La Schola* and probably never would. Misha—the diminutive of Mikhail—became a household name. And while ballerinas swooned over his gravity-defying leaps, others tracked his offstage path to the stars with various celebrities, including ballerina Gelacy Rinaldi and actor James Lange.

Now, he just about everyone else in the era of recording. Baryshnikov seems to have settled down. At 47, he still dances superbly—as a member of the White Oak Dance Project, the modern dance company he co-founded five years ago. But he can no longer execute many of the heart-stopping arabesques that helped to make him the greatest dancer of his time. And he says his favorite leisure activity when he is not touring—on Sept. 14 in Vancouver, White Oak begins a four-city swing through Western Canada—is spending time at his upstairs New York home with his partner of 20 years, dancer dancer Lisa Blythart, and their three children, aged five, three and 18 months. (Baryshnikov also has a 14-year-old daughter, Alexandra, from his relationship with Lange.) He has even taken up golf. If there is still a whiff of the hubby Misha of the past, it can be heard only in the perfume of the same name that he launched six years ago.

It sure seemed that Baryshnikov was doomed to a life of ruminations and nostalgia, at least some of it the result of his mother's suicide when he was 11. In 1987, the dancer acknowledged in an interview that he was "very moody and unpredictable." His darkest conversation, with *Menlo*'s late last month in Niagara Falls, N.Y., where he was staying while performing for two nights at nearby Artpark, Baryshnikov described himself as a "sappy person" with a keen appetite for work and life in general. One-eyed and bearded, dressed casually as a plain shirt and jeans trousers, he said that this is the most fulfilling time of his career. "I think I'm doing more interesting work. This is a better dancer, I think. It's getting satisfaction at a different magnitude."

For years, Baryshnikov was plagued by a right-knee injury that required three operations. But with his switch to modern repertoire, he says, he has to difficulty working out and performing at least five hours a day, most days of the year. "The external I'm doing now," he declares, "is one life or a glove."

Although his knee inevitably one-jaws for the stage of a noble prince in white tights, Baryshnikov says that he now finds classical ballet boring. While that may seem a radical departure for the

Ballet's Prince of Strides has found new exhilaration in contemporary dance

former New Ballet star who ran the American Ballet Theatre in New York City from 1980 to 1988. Baryshnikov has always been interested in contemporary choreography. During his stewardship at the ABT, he added a few modern pieces to the repertoire—works by such American dancers as Twyla Tharp and Merce Cunningham.

Baryshnikov created *White Oak*—named after the Florida estate of his hostesses, industrialist Howard Glazer—with American choreographer Mark Morris five years ago. The former ballet star and his fellow dancers—four men and five women—have commissioned dozens of new works. "I like to be in the dancer's seat," says Baryshnikov, "rather than looking, 'You dance it, I'm bored.' Another production of *Sleeping Beauty*—give me a break." On my word that we've actually started the career of a couple of choreographers."

White Oak's repertoire, like the backgrounds of its dancers, is highly varied. One work last may be on some programs in Western Canada, Charles Moulton's *Orchestra*, in a delightfully cross-genre piece set to some recorded live—the album, title of a duck that is sent to a chicken home. Another playful composition in the company's repertoire, Tharp's *Penguins*, is a solo for Baryshnikov that poses him at the role of a dancer and includes allusions to tragic artists and the ultra-sure Fred Astaire, one of Baryshnikov's heroes. The dancer seems to inhabit the work as though he had created it himself. (In fact, he says choreography just isn't his forte.) It is a true crowd-pleaser: when Baryshnikov performed it in the first of two performances at Artpark, the capacity crowd of 4,000 gave it an enthusiastic ovation.

There is no question that Baryshnikov is big in White Oak's success. His dance may power around the company may lastly attract full houses by the end of last week, both Calgary dates had sold out, while tickets for the Vancouver, Edmonton and Regina shows were selling briskly. It is Baryshnikov's unique flair, which the executive's white shirt and after the last show at Artpark, about 15 female fans waited outside the stage door for autographs. "Of course, some people come because of certain memories," Baryshnikov acknowledges. "I don't really care what keeps people to the theatre. I care what they feel after the show."

Does Baryshnikov, who has never returned to Russia, ever think of going back home? "No" is all he offers. "Would he consider doing more theatre?" his Broadway stage debut, in Fina Kalka's *Metamorphosis*, was rare. "Yes, if the right project came up. Would he want his life to be any different when he turns 50?" "No," he says. "I hope I will be the same person, and have an appetite for work, and be happy."

PATRICIA HILCHY



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CANTEL

BOOKS

High-wire hero

A star showman's tale emerges from obscurity

THE GREAT FARINI

By Sherryl Frensch
(Oxford, \$57 pages, \$29.95)

When a 21-year-old medical student named William Hunt walked along a rope strung four stories above the main street at Park Hope, Ont., on Oct. 1, 1893, he began an extraordinary career. Hunt, known the stage name of Farini, left his home town to spend the following summer repeatedly walking across the gorge at Niagara Falls. By the late 1890s, he was a famous circus act in England. Later, he became the wealthy impresario behind the first business-cum-art act and other circus spectacles, and an inventor whose creations staged from the theatre to the big screen to the modern day.

Frensch's discovery—particularly in connection with the continuing fear of his rivals, such as the French lightbulb maker Edison, who is commemorated on one of the newest stamps in Niagara Falls, Ont.—is one of the forgotten tales in his fascinating account of a circus, an industrial revolution, and the first business-cum-art act. The best explanation seems to be that Farini was a Canadian who was prominent in none of the areas his countrymen think worthy of note. While his subject may not have scored big goals against a British hockey team, Frensch clearly believes that Farini has been unfairly ignored. And while redressing this injustice, Frensch also provides an illuminating sketch of Victorian-era entertainers, especially the variety of circus acts that lived even the small towns of Confederation Canada.

Farni saw his first circus in Niagara, near Park Hope, when he was 8. By the time he was 15, he had seen at least a dozen circuses, including P.T. Barnum's Calves and Mammals, which was led away from by 20 elephants. While others merely



Late (left), Farini and unidentified performer; double

marvelled at their performance, Farni carefully analysed the secrets that lay behind their seemingly superhuman feats. What distinguished Farni from all the other acrobats was his courage—not just the physical variety, but the moral courage that led him to shun the middle-class respectability and secure prospects for a chaotic and dangerous profession.

Driven from home by his outraged father after the Park Hope walk, Farni made his way to Niagara Falls where he spent the summer of 1893 parading the shows put on by the celebrated Blondin, the only man before Farni to have walked the rope. When the Frenschers for example, carried a stove full of narrow wire and passed under to cook and eat, Farni responded by dressing as a hoodlum, bringing up a washing machine and cleaning some handkerchiefs.

After wandering around South America for a few years, Farni surfaced in London with a

trapeze act involving himself and a small boy. In 1878, he dived headfirst from public sight, returning to river cruise action as manager of the lovely Lady, supposedly a 16-year-old girl whose act consisted of being propelled 20 feet into the air by a hand-designed machine causing incident in the fairgrounds. Lady, of course, was none other than the trapeze boy.

The Lady Leap was a stroke of genius as Farni's part, providing the audience with that hint of sex that so bedazzled Victorian: one reporter for the London Daily Telegraph rhapsodized over Lady's "symmetrical form free from the restraint of superhuman apparel." Lady paraded homes across Europe and America for six years before being entrusted, to little public animosity, even after he began to lose his hair and grow a moustache, Lady's father, in his risk drama, for some more years. But Farni had already moved on, taking over London's Royal Aquarium, a respectable but money-losing institution dedicated to natural history. Farni's spectacularly renewed both descriptions by turning the aquarium into a circus, through a young German girl and living her out of a cannon. She was his greatest sensation, with up to 20,000 people a day paying to see her. The business model only brightened Farni's somewhat dim reputation.

By the late 1890s, Farni was pursuing other ventures with the same prodigious energy. He began to concentrate on his new circus while playing the stock market. He took a trip to the Kalahari Desert and wrote a book about his experiences. He became almost wealthy, writing a how-to manual about them. He took an actress and, by the time of the coronation, he was a noted Toronto inventor who exhibited his paintings in prominent places. In 1903, he returned to Park Hope and lived there quietly until his death in 1925 at age 80 in 1925, settling back to an obscure almost as something in his life.

Frensch's prose, unfortunately, is not marked by the elegance he attributes to Farni's performances. The author at times seems as flustered by his subject's accomplishments as the young William Hunt was by P.T. Barnum's acts, and the narrative often lags down in unnecessary details. But in his relentless pursuit of those scattered details and his impressive biographical reconstruction (including 14 pages of photographs), Frensch shows a Farni-like determination. The author, who first heard of Farni from his grandfather, even learned to walk the high wire. He performed last week at a reception launching his book—a measure of dedication that would have impressed The Great Farini himself.

ERIAN BETHUNE



What I did on my summer holidays

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Constant Readers will know—that they remember everything—a Constant Reader from Winnipeg who complained in a winning tone some years ago that he would probably have to put up with, once again, another version on this page of What I Did on My Summer Vacation.

You betcha. What else is a summer vacation for? You gotta while it, see it, stop it all up, bore your neighbors and friends (and readers) with it. All that money going to be needed for nothing? Of course not.

There is this island, you see, old Mexico set fit in the only place in the world, as far as I know, where 45 minutes—30 minutes, if you cut it free—from the center of a major city you can be in virgin wilderness.

The ferry, off the coast to Whistler takes just 20 minutes and with a wife thanks is sleeping in hotel of the car, massive orders that were here before Columbus came to the sky and a chap wonders why they ever invented a ship.

The only grocery store doesn't take plastic. The pay phones are usually plugged up with white, gas courtesy of the hotel. I mean, again, grocery consumers infinite at about age eight. The New York Times, however, printed in Tacoma, Wash.—bidding between Seattle and Portland—arrives every morning at 8:00. An island with virgin trees that provides The New York Times early each morning can't be all bad.

One father has to arrange about the 25-minute ferry to attend a wedding. This occasion is to parade the bride up the aisle. As usual, as at weddings, things are invited up. He does not meet the bridesmaids while he is to move the bridesmaids all fathers who walk up the aisle are allegedly supposed to wear.

He walks up the aisle, unadorned, feeling as naked as a jaybird. Father-in-laws are to the audience chuck their teeth in shame.

In addition, the bride on his arm seems to have inherited Ben Johnson's genes. The father has been told to pace in stately manner

times asked up. Fathers tend to do that when the bride is staring.

Her youngest brother, the emcee, is cool and witty, throwing out the best ones and the mounds—and he starts in cry. Her oldest brother is so happy that a member of the Canadian Senate attending says that he appeared absolutely "musey"—a description, so much so, as he determined, had never before been applied to him.

The father, who sometimes makes professional speeches for a fee, makes the worst speech of his life. This is what wedding days are about. Her hands cost half the price of a Jeep.

Back on the island, a 15-minute ride away from what passes for civilization, there is the center of the grade match. On the tennis court, the younger son—34 years postgraduate—takes on the father. The youngster has been hospitalized in previous years in Washington, D.C., and Vancouver, once ending out a three-hour, three-set victory on another island. As things stand, he is now down 10 matches.

The match comes from Al Davis, ruthless boss of the Oakland Raiders "Just win, baby." That's all it takes. The old bull vs. the young bull. First set 6-1 for the old bull. Second set, it is 4-1 when, the young bull comments, the old bull "tells me a cheap trick." The old bull's best friend contributes, "Like a five-dollar suitcase." It ends up 4-1, young bull. That would make it, an aggregate score, 10-1, but apparently Whistler doesn't count that way. Next year—

There is a blue lion that sweeps across the water, regular as clockwork, at sundown. The crowd, as large as Niagara, attack the green garbage bags while you're not looking. An eagle, perched against the skyline, sits on a lone rock.

The white ferries, like hot bags, cruise serenely by as their way, carrying bagged lumber trucks of Alberta and Saskatchewan families who have never seen so much water. The pichis from Columbia and beyond look down on the sailboats that look down on the sailboats that are curiously not to run down the central boats that vainly are trying to catch the salmon that have disappeared.

We all watch that from the cottage deck, the sailing boat bouncing off the green forests on the mountain slopes against, knowing that other people are actually watching. There is one period of the year when one is actually allowed not to think about Bona, Bona, the Quebec referendum, Ralph Klein, Gerald Robinson or O. J. Simpson.

Well, Mr. Winnipeg, that's what I Did on My Summer Vacation.



But bride seems so eager for groom, leaping into a new spirit in her choice for the site, that pop looks dragged along, rather like a chap in the supermarket with the cart trying to keep up with the spouse's eager effort to jockey up the GTE.

There is another problem. Spectators come afterwards that this is the only groom in ceremony whose grin can't be wiped off his face. What they do not know is that the reason he is laughing is because the reversed reversed president is wearing only socks. We know Christianity is down at the heels these days, but this is ridiculous.

The wedding reception is under yellow trees. Grass. On the beach. On the sea. Mountains, lowering across. This is British Columbia, after all. Perfection is expected.

The bride is staring her hair in a blond version of Medusa. The Greek goddess never looked so good. She is so stunning that her father stumbles in his speech, gets

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